Daily Report

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Prague Radio Views Warsaw Pact Talks
LD010225 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Commentary by editor Jiri Halousek]

[Text] We are living in a truly dynamic age in which decisions are being made as to whether the world of the next few years will be a safer one and whether that trend will continue, or whether the arsenals of mass destruction will continue their ominous escalation. Just look back over the events of the last 7 days: a week ago U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz had talks with Soviet leaders in Moscow; today Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze began talks in Washington. Moreover, in the last 2 days here in Prague a session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers' Committee was held.

All three of these events fall into the same category of mankind's endeavors to ensure world peace and security. Clearly, the Prague session could not fail to reflect both the preceding and succeeding talks between the Soviet Union and the United States, all the more so because the real prospect of the first-ever disarmament agreement in the area of nuclear weapons being concluded is rightly capturing the attention of the whole world. This was the issue at the center of the talks between Warsaw Pact foreign ministers, who took a specific view on the issue. Eduard Shevardnadze explained the significance of the Prague session for his forthcoming talks in Washington by saying that he had been given a mandate to negotiate with U.S. officials on behalf of all the Warsaw Pact states.

The foreign ministers also dealt with a whole range of other issues. They made a realistic and detailed analysis of the current international situation, with all its positive and negative features, noting that encouraging trends reflecting new political thinking had developed in international affairs. Along with these trends, however, perplexing problems continue to exist: There is no let-up in attempts to pursue the arms race policy; some states continue to negotiate from a position of strength; and just lately certain regional conflicts have taken a turn for the worse.

The Warsaw Pact states, though, expressed the conviction that a radical change for the better in international relations is both necessary and feasible. The path to pursue to achieve this objective is shown by the two important documents adopted at the Prague session: the joint communique; and the document in which the participants propose that the Geneva disarmament conference operate all year round with two or three recesses, that not only diplomats but also well-known scientists and public officials participate in it, and that within this, sessions be organized at the foreign ministerial level on crucial issues. All these are new proposals which, judging by the first response from abroad, are being met with great interest and which, if adopted, would significantly boost the efficacy of the Geneva talks.

Comrade Gustav Husak has described these documents as another contribution by the socialist countries to creating an atmosphere of trust, reducing international tension, and strengthening world peace. A signal has thus emanated from Prague which, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, once again symbolizes the era that the crucial event in the modern history of mankind initiated.

Commission Discusses Foreign Affairs

AU311415 Tirana ATA in English 0739 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Tirana, October 31 (ATA)—The permanent commission of foreign affairs of the People's Assembly convened on October 30 under the direction of its chairman, Comrade Foto Cami. The meeting was attended also by the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Xhafer Spahiu and the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Comrade Petro Dode.

The commission listened to the report of the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile about the activity of the Albanian delegation to the proceedings of the 42nd session of the General Assembly of the United Nations as well as about the meetings and talks he had with the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries and other states. The commission was also informed on the visit to Tirana and talks conducted with the federal minister of foreign affairs and vice-chancellor of the FR of Germany, Dr Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The commission after listening to the discussions of the deputies unanimously approved these activities in the field of foreign policy. It valued the contribution of the Albanian delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as the meetings and exchange of opinions on the further development of the good neighbourly relations, for the broadening of cooperation with different states in fields of mutual benefit as positive factors to safeguard peace and stability in the Balkans and elsewhere.

It welcomed the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the PSR of Albania and the FR of Germany and the successful visit of the foreign minister of FR of Germany, Dr Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Albania, which pave the way to development and materialization of the relations between the two countries in the economic, trade, technical-scientific and cultural fields, etc.

The commission stressed that the PSR of Albania will continue consistently its policy of good neighbourliness, will develop its relations with other countries on the basis of the well-known principles regulating the relations between the sovereign states, will resolutely support the just cause of the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, democracy and social progess, will fight to safeguard peace and internatioal security, expressing the full conviction that ths policy serve the interests of the people and our socialist homeland.

Education Minister Returns Home 30 Oct

AU311409 Tirana ATA in English 0749 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Tirana, October 31 (ATA)—The minister ofeducation, Skender Gjinushi, who attended the proceedings of the 24th session of the General Conference of the United Nations on Education, Science, and Culture—UNESCO, returned home from Paris.

Youth Congress Greets AWP Central Committee

AU291454 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 25 Oct 87 p 1

["Message from the Albanian Union of Working Youth Ninth Congress to the AWP Central Committee"]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

Amidst the indescribable enthusiasm of this great gathering of young people, we the representatives of the younger generation of socialist Albania and of their militant organization, the Albanian Union of Working Youth, in an undefeatable unity of hearts and minds, send our most ardent greetings and most sincere sentiments of love and boundless gratitude to the AWP, our sacred leaders and educators.

We came to this congress proud and with heads held high and fulfilled our words with deeds and our pledges become reality. We have justified the confidence and trust of the party with our sweat and study and with the good work we are doing throughout our socialist homeland. We have broadcast our experience and achievements from the lofty platform of this congress for three successive days, expressing our noble spirit of readiness and devotion, and undertaking fresh tasks and mass actions to bring to life as soon as possible the magnificent plan set out by the Ninth AWP Congress in every sphere of life.

These young people are honor-bound to the party, the people, and socialism. These lovely, smiling young people, courageous and dignified, intelligent and dexterous, for whom all the paths of knowledge, science, and culture lie open, are your achievement, the achievement of the party. They are further testimony to the realization of the centuries-old aspirations of the younger generations of Albania, and a living proof of what socialism has done in more than 40 years of a free and happy life.

With the party at the fore, and only through socialism, our ancient people with their traditions have found and recognized their true renewal. The rivers of blood and sweat have turned to joy and prosperity. Our present-day life is splendid, and our brilliant future is secure. Only a new society like ours has been able to guarantee once and for all the complete freedom and independence of the homeland, genuine rights to work and education, constantly growing prosperity for everybody, and the highest respect for honest sweat and for the man of labor, who is placed on a pedestal.

This is why we, the younger generation of socialist Albania, feel ourselves bound with all our hearts to socialism, and unswervingly loyal to the socialist road. From the lofty platform of this congress, we affirm once again our oath that the Albanian Union of Working Youth, with its more than 600,000 members, will, under every circumstance, march determinedly and eagle-eyed

in the front ranks of the standard-bearers of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the fighters for the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth AWP Congress. Our youthful zeal and depth of knowledge, with which socialism has equipped us, will be embodied in the great projects of the 5-year period, in factories and plants, in lush fields and flourishing woodlands, on the paths of knowledge, with our books and with our weapons, to raise even higher the name and glory of our sacred homeland, and to make socialist Albania even more prosperous and indomitable.

With the party at our head and its teachings in every mind and heart, we will always be at the forefront of progress, and will always raise high the banners of socialist emulation and mass action. We will work with our manifold energies where the homeland requires, and will stand in the front ranks of the ideological, cultural, and technical-scientific revolution. We will always rise to our feet to defend to the end the good of the homeland, the banner of socialism, and the brilliant future of our people.

Our militant oath will be passed down the generations and enter history, embodied in immortal achievements.

Long live the AWP and its Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head!

Alia, Carcani Greet Algerian Leaders

AU011442 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, November 1 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, sent the following message of greetings to Chadli Bendjedid, president of the People's Democratic Algerian Republic, and Abdelhamid Brahimi, premier of the People's Democratic Algerian Republic:

On occasion of the commemoration of the Day of Algerian Revolution it is our pleasure that on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Council of Ministers and in our names, to extend to you, the Government and the Algerian people, our cordial and friendly greetings and wishes.

The valiant Algerian people are engaged in a great constructive work and have attained important victories in all the walks of life. The Albanian people sincere rejoice over these achievements and wholeheartedly wish the fraternal Algerian people fresh still greater successes in the all-sided progress of the country.

Expressing our joy over the successful development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries, we wish that they develop and strengthen non-stop on the basis of traditional friendship binding our two fraternal peoples, to our common interest and of the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

Economic Progress Report for 25-31 Oct

AU011508 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 25-31 October carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Berat District: The overall industrial production plan up to 20 October has been exceeded by 1.2 percent (1900 GMT 28 October);

Durres District: Ten collectives report having prefulfilled their 10-month plans (1900 GMT 27 October);

Kolonje District: The overall industrial production plan up to 20 October was overfulfilled by 1 percent (1900 GMT 26 October);

Kukes District: The 10-month industrial production plan has been prefulfilled (1900 GMT 28 October);

Puke District: The overall industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by 1.1 million leks (1100 GMT 28 October);

Sarande District: The 10-month industrial output plan has been prefulfilled and it is expected that by 31 October 4 million leks worth of goods will have been produced over and above the target (1900 GMT 30 October).

Meeting To Commemorate GOSR Held

Live Relay of Meeting

AU311923 [Editorial report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1458 GMT on 31 October begins a live relay of a festive meeting in the Great Hall of the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture in Sofia to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

A reporter first describes the scene in the crowded hall, and then comments on the great significance of the revolution for the USSR, Bulgaria, and the entire world.

At 1501 GMT applause is heard, which the reporter explains is to greet the entry of "the party-state leaders, led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council." A choir and orchestra then perform the Soviet National Anthem.

The reporter then announces that the festive meeting will be opened by Comrade Petur Tanchev, who is heard to formally open the meeting and then give the floor to Todor Zhivkov, who is greeted with loud applause, cheering, and chanting of "BCP."

Zhivkov begins his speech at 1506 GMT. In the speech, summarized by second referent BTA report, Zhivkov describes the significance of the October Revolution, stresses the importance of and Bulgaria's support for restructuring, and praises the state of USSR-Bulgarian relations. Zhivkov then mentions the political, social, and economic tasks currently facing Bulgaria. In conclusion, Zhivkov notes the U.S.-USSR agreement to eliminate medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, calling this "a victory of political realism, and of the will and readiness to reach a reasonable compromise in resolving mankind's vitally important problem." Zhivkov concludes his speech at 1548 GMT.

Petur Tanchev is then heard to giving the floor to Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, who is greeted with loud applause and cheering.

Grekov begins speaking in Russian at 1549 GMT. He first thanks Zhivkov for his "brilliant, profound speech, permeated with feelings of communist support and solidarity with the revolutionary road traveled by the Soviet Union since October 1917 to the present day." In the name of the Soviet people, he pays homage to the Bulgarian revolutionary heroes Dimitur Blagoev, Georgi Dimitrov, and other founders of the BCP, noting their devotion to the cause of the October Revolution. Grekov then recalls the contributions Bulgarian soldiers, sailors, and airmen to the Soviet war effort in World War II. He later dwells on the firm friendship between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, which over the years has turned into true brotherhood, cooperation, and unity of purpose. He notes that since the 1944 Socialist Revolution, "through the selfless labor of the workers class, peasants, the people's intelligentsia, Communists, and allied Fatherland Front members, Bulgaria has achieved historic successes in her development and has turned into an economically developed, highly cultured state. This is the decisive service of the BCP and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov." Grekov continues to dwell on the fraternal relations between the USSR and Bulgaria, their parties and peoples, which continues during the present stage of radical change and restructuring. Grekov stresses that there is no alternative to the current policy of restructuring of Soviet society. He then reviews the BCP's decisive guiding role in the current radical restructuring in Bulgaria. Grekov then speaks of the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy, which Bulgaria has fully supported. Referring to the announcement on on the results of the Washington talks, he comments: "This confirms the correctness of the course chosen by us, and the necessity and constructiveness of the new political thinking." He praises Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation in international affairs and disarmament, and confirms the Soviet support for Bulgaria's efforts to make the Balkans a zone of peace and good-neighborliness. Grekov ends his speech 1601 GMT.

Tanchev then officially closes the festive meeting, which ends with the singing of the Internationale at 1601 GMT.

The reporter then gives the names of the other Bulgarian leaders, in addition to Zhivkov, in the presidium of honor: "Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Markov, Nacho Papazov, Vasil Tsanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Emil Khristov, and Stoyan Mikhaylov."

Zhivkov Speaks

AU311657 Sofia BTA in English 1607 GMT 31 Oct 87

["Official Celebration of 70th Anniversary of October Revolution: Speech by Todor Zhivkov"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 31 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, delivered a speech today at an official meeting marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

This was a social revolution of a qualitatively new type. Within a few days or months the people fulfilled the most important task of history: They put an end once and for all to the rule of the exploiting classes and to exploitation in their country and embarked on the building of a socialist society.

Mr Todor Zhivkov noted that October 1917 is a brilliant confirmation of the scientific discovery of Marx and Engels on the role of the proletariat, of Lenin's accurate

prediction of the course of the socialist revolution in the age of imperialism. Today's world has been totally changed and the roots of this change are in the October Socialist Revolution, said the Bulgarian party and state leader. He said that the struggle for implementing the ideals of socialism is continuing. We are well aware of the fact that socialism is still not perfect, that it has still not realized its potential, said Mr Zhivkov. This is not only because of objectively existing difficulties, but also because of some subjective mistakes which in certain periods have led to serious deformations. We all, including our Soviet comrades, are now talking openly of these deformations, we are drawing conclusions and are moving forward. We are convinced, Mr Zhivkov said, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will draw similar conclusions during the celebration of the 70th anniversary.

The Bulgarian leader noted that the main conclusion about the need for a qualitative renewal of the Soviet society has already been made. The restructuring has given new dynamics to socialism. It is a deep and unstoppable process because it is based on the creativity of the people, on the development of democracy and self-management. The restructuring has enhanced the role of the individual and socialist humanism.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people are ardently supporting the restructuring in Soviet society conducted by the CPSU, said Mr Zhivkov. He expressed the conviction that the process of restructuring will carry Soviet society to new higher levels and will be a considerable contribution to the solving of the common tasks of the fraternal socialist countries at the current decisive moment. It will also increase the power and attractiveness of socialism.

Dwelling on Bulgaro-Soviet relations, the secretary general of the BCP CC and president of the State Council noted that these relations are entering a qualitatively new stage. According to him, this is reflected in the agreements reached between him and Mr Gorbachev during his recent working visit to Moscow.

The Bulgarian leader then spoke of the chief tasks standing before Bulgaria today: the achieving of a qualitatively new state of socialism by means of restructuring in all fields of life. It is now necessary: to dynamically develop the productive forces on the basis of techno-scientific progress; to renew the social relations through the broadening of socialist democracy based on self-management; to create more favorable conditions for the better satisfaction of the material, social and intellectual requirements of the individual and for his enhancing as producer, creative force and consumer; the strengthening of the socialist way of life in the spirit of the communist ideals; the elevation of the leading role of the Communist Party as the people's political leader. [punctuation as received]

All this, Mr Zhivkov said, can only be implemented through the will and energy of the people. We are now faced with the difficult task of realizing practically the concept on the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria. We are aware that this is a gradual and lengthy process which will cover the next 10 or 15 years.

The secretary general of the BCP CC and president of the State Council stated that the coincidence in principle of the aims of restructuring in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union strengthens the determination of the Bulgarian leadership to carry this revolutionary effort to a successful completion.

Further on the Bulgarian leader said that restructuring in the Soviet Union is of great historical significance for the further development of our world. We are now thinking and acting in a new way because we have at our disposal a theory of the mutual interdependence in the world, the understanding that all peoples build the peace we live in, said Mr Zhivkov. He noted that this concept is the result of the consistent efforts of the socialist countries, of all democratic forces and movements in the world. The greatest contribution to this however is that of the Soviet Union and its current leadership, and of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in particular.

The new political approach means a unity of words and actions, said the Bulgarian leader. The efforts of the socialist countries are aimed at building a world which would guarantee everyone all necessary conditions for existence. This brings forth the issue of the building of a comprehensive system of international security and necessitates a struggle for the improvement of the situation in the world by means of political dialogue.

The Bulgarian leader assessed the Soviet-American agreement in principle on the signing of an agreement eliminating the intermediate and shorter range missiles as a victory of political realism, of the will and readiness for reasonable compromise in the resolving of mankind's vital problems.

Gorbachev-Reagan Summit Reported

AU302105 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Following a meeting this evening in the White House between Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and President Ronald Reagan, it was announced that on 7 December 1987 a meeting will begin in Washington between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. At the meeting an agreement will be signed on the total elimination of U.S. and Soviet medium- and shorter-range missiles.

During the first half of next year, a meeting will take place in the Soviet Union between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, at which it is envisaged that efforts will be made to achieve progress over the entire spectrum of Soviet-U.S. relations.

This was reported in a Soviet-U.S. announcement on Eduard Shevardnadze's talks in Washington that was transmitted by TASS.

Atanasov Receives USSR Deputy Premier Antonov

AU301340 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] Yesterday, Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and leader of the Soviet delegation for the 31st session of the Intergovernmental Bulgarian-Soviet Commission on Economic, Technical, and Scientific Cooperation.

Satisfaction was expressed with the results of the commission's session, and it was stressed that the further practical implementation of the joint policy of the two countries' parties and governments for deepening integration and applying new forms of cooperation will be of great importance. They examined a number of specific issues connected with constructing integrational installations on Bulgarian and Soviet territory, further improving the mechanism of the direct links, and increasing the mutual deliveries of goods. It was emphasized that in the future the bilateral cooperation must develop in accordance with the decisions of the 43d (extraordinary) session of CEMA.

Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Bulgarian section of the commission, and Leonid Grekov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to Bulgaria, also took part in the talks.

Iranian Transportation Minister Visits

Protocol Signed

AU291913 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Sofia, 29 (BTA)—A Subcommission on Transport was established with the Bulgaro-Iranian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation. This fact is pointed out in the protocol signed by Bulgaria's Minister of Transport Mr Vasil Tsanov and by Mr Mohammad Seyyd Kya, minister of transport of Iran. The two sides agreed to conclude agreements on sea transport and civil aviation in the future.

During the talks the two sides stressed the mutual interest in the further broadening of transport relations utilizing all kinds of transport and modern transport technologies, as well as the developing of the techno-scientific cooperation and engineering activity.

The Iranian guest was received by Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Meets with Atanasov

LD311241 Tehran IRNA in English 1730 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Tehran, Oct. 30, IRNA—Iranian Minister of Roads and Transportation Mohammad Seyyed Kya met with Bulgaria's prime minister Georgi Atanasov in Sofia Thursday and presented him a message from his Iranian counterpart Hoseyn Musavi.

At the meeting also attended by Seyyed Kya's Bulgarian counterpart Vasil Tsanov and the two countries' ambassadors, Seyyed Kya described Tehran-Sofia relations as "very good" and expressed satisfaction with the steadily expanding relations between the two countries.

Pointing to the U.S. military interference in the Persian Gulf, Seyyed Kya thanked the Bulgarian premier for his country's condemnation of the U.S. military intervention in the Persian Gulf.

In response, Atanasov condemned U.S. aggression and its military presence in the Persian Gulf and called for withdrawal of the U.S. and its allies from the region. He thanked his Iranian counterpart Musavi for sending him the message.

In another meeting in Sofia Thursday, the Iranian minister conferred with Bulgarian Deputy Premier Mr. Doynov on expansion of technological and technical exchanges between the two countries.

Seyyed Kya briefed the Bulgarian official on the U.S. military presence in the region and the Iraqi imposed war.

In response the Bulgarian official expressed concern over the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf and expressed willingness to promote Tehran-Sofia ties.

Mladenov Departs for CSSR 28 October

AU301348 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Oct 87

[Text] Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, departed for Prague yesterday [28 October], where he will participate in a session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee.

At Sofia Airport, Petur Mladenov was seen off by Comrade Milko Balev and by deputy ministers.

Vaclav Janousek, CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, was also among those present at Sofia Airport.

Dyulgerov Departs for Bucharest 28 Oct
AU301342 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Oct 87 p 6

[Text] A delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, headed by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council, departed for Bucharest yesterday. The delegation will attend the 40th Session of the WFTU General Council. Vasile Pungan, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania to Bulgaria, was among those who saw the Bulgarian delegation off at Sofia Airport.

Zhivkov Congratulates Turkish President
AU301347 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Oct 87 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, sent a telegram to Kenan Evren, president of Turkey, on the occasion of his country's national day. Congratulations and wishes are conveyed for the prosperity of the Turkish people.

Zhivkov Congratulates Tambo on Birthday
AU301345 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Oct 87 pp 1,6

[Telegram from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, to Oliver Tambo, chairman of the African National Congress of South Africa]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Oliver Tambo, may I convey to you most cordial, comradely congratulations on the occasion of your 70th birthday and of the presentation of the Georgi Dimitrov Order to you, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee and on my own behalf.

The Bulgarian Communists and all working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria know you as a selfless fighter for the liberation of the oppressed and rightless strata of the South African working people and for the elimination of the apartheid system, for the elimination of racial and social oppression in the Republic of South Africa. We highly appreciate your political and organizational activities as a longstanding leader in the African National Congress [ANC], which is the vanguard force of the revolutionary forces in your country, and which is gaining more and more domestic and international prestige.

You are standing in the first ranks of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces in the Republic of South Africa, the forces that are in favor of halting the race for nuclear rearmament and which are supporting peace and international cooperation.

We express confidence that the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between the BCP and the ANC will be consolidated and expanded in the interest of working people in our two countries for the sake of peace and progress in the world.

I wish you health and vigor, as well as many years of work for the just cause of the South African working people, for the triumph of the mankind's loftiest ideals.

Plan Fulfillment Report for 9 Months
AU291401 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Oct 87 p 1, 2

["Announcement of the Central Statistical Administration on the Results of Fulfillment of the Uniform State Plan for Bulgaria's Scientific, Technical, and Socioeconomic Development During the First 9 Months of 1987": "Full Mobilization of Forces, a High Level of Discipline!"]

[Text] The implementation of the Uniform State Plan for Scientific, Technical, and Socioeconomic Development during the first 9 months of 1987 was carried out under the conditions of the restructuring now under way in the economy and the whole of socialist society. The efforts of labor collectives were directed toward fulfilling the production tasks in a timely way and to a high standard of quality. The decisions of the July plenum of the BCP Central Committee exerted a strong effect and mobilized the workers in the struggle for qualitatively new growth. The progressive alteration of the structure of the economy continued.

The country's economic and social development during the first 9 months is characterized by the following figures.

	1987, First 9 Months, as Percentage of 1986, First 9 Months
Social labor productivity	104.8
Production output	103.3
Net production	105.0
Overall profit	108.0
Retail goods turnover (not including hard spirits)	105.0
Material expenditure per 100 leva of production (excluding amortization)	98.5
Profitability (overall profit) per 100 leva of production funds	102.1

Almost the entire production increase during the 9 months was provided by increased social labor productivity. There was a rise in efficiency and profitability of the national economy. Average monthly wages (excluding agriculture) rose by 4.1 percent, and the social funds for consumption increased. New housing and cultural and public buildings were constructed. Everyday services to the population were overfulfilled by 7.2 percent.

The foreign trade goods turnover with CEMA member countries increased by 2.9 percent as compared to the first 9 months of 1986. The process continued of expanding the direct production links with economic organizations in the fraternal socialist countries, first and foremost with the Soviet Union.

Alongside the positive results achieved, certain weaknesses also continued to appear. A number of self-managing economic organizations failed to fulfill the state orders for production of important types of products and the contracts for supplying raw materials, other materials, and finished products. This created conditions for interruptions in the continuity of the production links and in meeting consumer demand.

The rates of growth in certain of the basic economic indices are still not reaching the levels envisaged in the state plan for 1987. The achievements of scientific and technical progress are not being introduced to a satisfactory degree in certain organizations. The volume of a number of new and improved articles being produced is insufficient.

I. [Roman one] Intensification of Social Production

As a result of the measures taken to make better use of the material, labor, and financial resources in the national economy, labor productivity and production efficiency increased and there was improvement in the use of production funds. There was an increase in the number of enterprises that had changed over to 2- and 3-shift working. The machinery and plant in about 36 percent of the industrial enterprises with noncontinuous production processes is operating on a 2-shift system or more.

The numbers of employees in the material production branches (not including agriculture) increased by 0.4 percent, while production rose by 3.7 percent. Production profitability rose by 2.1 percent, and in certain economic organizations, such as the Microprocessor Systems Economic Trust, Rubber Products Economic Trust, Farmakhim Economic Trust, Vehicle Building Economic Trust, Metal Products Economic Trust, "Desislava" Economic Trust, Metal Structures Economic Trust, and others, the rise in profitability was in excess of 15 percent.

During the first 9 months of 1987 the prime costs per 100 leva of production fell by 1 percent, while material expenditure alone fell by 1.5 percent. This ensured increased profits and income for the economic organizations.

Considerable efforts were put into the technical reequipment of production capacities and the introduction of new technologies and other achievements of scientific and technical progress. Some 4,939 tasks were completed relating to creating scientific products, as well as 7,832 tasks concerned with the introduction of new technologies and equipment under the plan for scientific-technical development and technological renewal.

The quality of a number of products was improved, including diesel engines, hydraulic motors, high-torque drives for metal-cutting machines, step-by-step regulators, automatic and technological modules, alkide oil paints, polyamide textile silk, silk and silk-type fabrics, and so on.

Notwithstanding the positive results achieved, weaknesses still continue to be committed in relation to the quality of some manufactured products.

During the 9-month period substantial work was completed on preparations for and the introduction of the state acceptance of products. In accordance with the approved schedule, state acceptance was organized in 67 economic organizations.

II. [Roman two] Development of Material Production Industry [subhead]

The industrial enterprises' goods output amounted to 32.6 billion leva, that is, 1.1 billion leva greater than that achieved during the first 9 months of 1986.

Social labor productivity showed a 6.6 percent rise as compared to the same period of last year, providing 85 percent of the growth in net production. The prime cost of production output fell by 0.9 percent, and overall profit increased by 9.4 percent. A profit to the value of almost 572 million leva was realized over and above the plan.

The growth in industrial goods output in the individual production complexes was as follows:

Production complexes	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Electronics	113.4
Biotechnological and Chemical Industry	101.1

Production complexes	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Electronics	113.4
Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment	103.8
Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials	100.1
Investment Machine Building	108.4
Industry for Man	104.7
Construction and Building Industry	100.6
Power Industry	106.1
Agroindustrial Complex	100.7
Forest Industry Complex	99.6

The increase in industrial production by oblasts, as compared with the first 9 months of 1986, is as follows:

Oblasts	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Sofia City	104.4
Burgas Oblast	101.1
Varna Oblast	98.7
Lovech Oblast	102.4
Mikhaylovgrad Oblast	102.7
Plovdiv Oblast	104.3
Razgrad Oblast	104.5
Sofia Oblast	105.5
Khaskovo Oblast	106.8

The territorial organization of social production continued to be improved. The territorial disposition of the production forces and the building up of the technical and social infrastructure are acting to promote more and more efficient use of regional factors in order to achieve a multiplication effect for the entire national economy.

Further development of individual production complexes has been achieved, as follows: Electronics Complex [subhead]

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Remote processing systems, thousands of leva	44,349	139.0
Disk subsystems, units	1,992	125.7
Remote processing systems, "Crosspoint" automatic telephone exchanges, thousands of lines	92	100.0
Project design automation systems, units	53	143.2
Processing centers, units	344	174.6
Lathes with numerical program control, units	351	128.6
Automatic technological modules for machining, units	182	109.0
Work stations for semiautomatic assembly of printed circuit boards, units	156	175.3
Complete electric drives with high-torque motors, units	32,622	105.6

Over one-fifth of the industrial products manufactured by the complex in the 9-month period were renewed. The production of new models of numerical program-controlled metal-cutting machines, matrix [matrichni] processors, a new range of industrial robots and manipulators, and work stations for semiautomatic assembly of printed circuit boards was mastered.

Certain organizations in the complex failed to fulfill the plan according to the main natural indices; these included the Disk Memory Devices Economic Trust in Stara Zagora, the Integrated Automation of Technological Processes Economic Trust, and the Information and Communications Systems Economic Trust.

Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Complex [subhead]

Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Soda ash, thousand tonnes	767	96.9
Mineral fertilizers (based on 100r nutrients), thousand tonnes	678	96.4
Synthetic fibers and silks, tonnes	31,031	103.1
Motor car tires, thousands	703	118.4

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Chemical fibers and filaments, thousand tonnes	76	101.5

During the 9-month period, the development of the complex was effected on the basis of progressive changes in the branch and product structure.

The production of the complex was renewed with new products, such as glass-reinforced thermoplastics, stabilized polyethylene sheet, and a number of improved products in the chemical and pharmaceutical industry: flavomycin, biovite, and certain types of prepared medicinal products. The basic quality indices in the complex showed an improvement.

Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment [subhead]

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Electric lift trucks, units	35,944	99.2
Diesel lift trucks, units	27,663	100.4
Trucks, units	5,186	101.9
Motor cars, units	15,993	110.9
Crop-sprinkling machines and installations, units	2,120	85.2
Internal combustion engines, diesels, units	34,124	103.4
Excavators, units	869	130.7

Production output in the complex continued to rise. More vehicles and agricultural and construction equipment were provided for the national economy.

The complex produced over and above the plan 34 articulated buses, 91 excavators, as well as silage harvesters and LiAZ-Madara cement-mixer trucks.

However, the Vehicle Building Economic Trust, Construction and Road-Making Equipment Economic Trust, Freight Car Building Economic Trust, and Balkancar Economic Trust failed to fulfill their 9-month plans in respect of certain natural indices.

Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials Complex [subhead]

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Pig iron for processing, thousand tonnes	1,237	101.6
Steel, thousand tonnes	2,303	105.1
Rolled ferrous metals (rolled stock), thousand tonnes	2,440	97.4
Rolled metal products, thousand tonnes	682	97.4
Metallurgical coke, dry, thousand tonnes	826	110.8
Steel ropes and cables, tonnes	10,984	114.0

The production was mastered of new industrial products: powdered-metal products for general machine-building applications, stainless steel and nonferrous metals in powder form, and ultra-pure ferromolybdenum.

The Metallurgy Economic Trust failed to fulfill the state orders for rolled sheet from ferrous metals, rolled metal products, and steel pipes, while the Metal Products Economic Trust did not fulfill the state order for rolled metal products.

Investment Machine Building Economic Trust [subhead]

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Induction electric motors, thousand units	1,218	120.1
Power transformers, units	15,910	107.3
Tower cranes, units	44	88.0

During the 9-month period the complex produced 152,000 generators and starters for vehicles of the VAZ family with a high rating and electronic controller.

Industry for Man Complex [subhead]

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Furniture, million leva	405	102.7

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Cotton and cotton-type fabrics (finished), million meters	262	100.8
Woolen and woolen-type fabrics (finished), million meters	30	96.6
Silk and silk-type fabrics (finished), million meters	28	101.5
Knitwear industry products, million units	98	102.4
Tailored articles, million leva	578	104.6
Footwear (not including rubber footwear), million pairs	22	103.3
Flat glass, thousand square meters	16,267	110.1
Washing machines, thousand units	126	103.8

New products for everyday use were mastered: dishwashers, plate heating stoves, transfer-printed silk fabrics for outer wear, polyester silk, and new sports and fashion garments. Production was expanded of a number of improved products, such as teflon-coated cooking vessels, highly improved cotton fabrics, and others.

Construction and Building Industry Complex[subhead]

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Cement, thousand tonnes	4,226	100.0
Bricks, million units	805	95.7
Tiles and ridge tiles, thousand units	40,133	108.4
Prefabricated reinforced concrete, thousand cubic meters	1,957	93.0
Extruded panels, thousand cubic meters	235	122.4

The production of important building materials and products is still insufficient. This created difficulties in fulfilling the plan for building production and in ensuring supplies to the commodity fund for the population.

Power Industry Complex [subhead]

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Electric power, million kilowatt-hours	31,328	103.3
Thermal power, thousand gigacalories	18,818	103.3
Pit coal, thousand tonnes	27,132	105.6
Brown coal briquettes, thousand tonnes	1,068	99.8

During the 9-month period normal power supplies were ensured for the national economy and the communal-domestic sector. There was a rise in electric power production from the existing production capacities and an improvement in the basic quality indices.

Forest Industry Complex [subhead]

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Softwood materials, thousand cubic meters	689	105.4
Hardwood materials, thousand cubic meters	1,491	96.2
Wood pulp, thousand tonnes	107	104.7
Paper, million square meters	3,657	102.1

The economic organizations in the system of the complex fulfilled the state orders and the basic indices for volume and quality. The Stara Planina Economic Trust and Pulp and Paper Economic Trust allowed themselves to fall behind, failing to produce the required quantities of woodchip boards, plywood boards, and natron [natronova] paper.

Agroindustrial Complex [subhead]

The agricultural organizations exerted themselves in order to bring in the harvest. However, due to unfavorable weather conditions and weaknesses in organization of the work, delays occurred in the harvesting of cereal corn, sugar beet, tomatoes, fresh peppers for consumption, potatoes, grapes, apples, and other crops.

Milk production (in all natural forms) rose by 0.9 percent, while cow's milk production rose by 1.7 percent. Egg production remained at the level achieved in the January-September period last year.

Purchases of cattle and poultry for meat increased by 0.8 percent as compared with the first 9 months of 1986.

During the 9-month period private and ancillary farm holdings sold within the self-supply system framework more cattle and poultry for meat and more vegetables and fruit than during the same period last year. However, there was a fall in the quantities of milk and eggs supplied from private farm holdings.

The output of main products from the food industry enterprises during the 9-month period was as follows:

	Produced in first 9 months of 1987	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Meat, thousand tonnes	389.8	101.9
Meat products, thousand tonnes	93.4	100.7
Milk fats, thousand tonnes	20.1	105.1
White cheese, thousand tonnes	85.0	92.3
Yellow cheese, thousand tonnes	26.7	105.4
Edible vegetable oils (not including soya), thousand tonnes	103.0	104.2
Sugar, thousand tonnes	298.0	105.7
Sugar products, thousand tonnes	83.9	101.6
Prepared and semi-prepared foods, thousand tonnes	47.3	96.5
Canned and bottled vegetables, thousand tonnes	231.7	102.7
Canned and bottled fruit, thousand tonnes	158.3	90.8
Soft drinks, thousand tonnes	451.5	104.8
Mixed fodder, thousand tonnes	2,866.9	99.7

During the 9-month period new food products were put into production, such as cereal-based diet foods for children and adults, modified ranges of frozen dairy ices and creams, potato products, enriched bread, dough- and pastry-based frozen foods, and others.

The Vegetable and Edible Oils Economic Combine and Bulgarplod Economic Trust failed to fulfill their obligations to the domestic and export markets. The Bulgarian Sugar Economic Trust failed in its obligations regarding sugar products, and the Fisheries Economic Trust failed as regards preserved fish.

Capital Investments and Construction [subhead]

During the first 9 months of 1987 the investment program was aimed at further developing and improving the national economy's material and technical base. By the end of September the used capital investments reached a figure of 5.4 billion leva, over 1 billion leva of which was for the construction of structure-determining installations due to be commissioned in 1987. The overwhelming majority of the funds are aimed at developing the raw-material and energy branches, at their technological renewal and expansion of the production capacities, at introducing scientific and technical achievements, and at raising the people's standard of living.

The plan for building production was fulfilled. The building and installation organizations completed construction work as the main contractor to the value of over 3.2 billion leva, which is 4.5 percent higher than in the corresponding period of 1986.

Overall, basic funds to the value of 3.4 billion leva were brought into operation in the national economy. Important installations due to be commissioned by the end of September were not brought into service.

During the 9-month period 29,077 dwellings were completed and handed over to the population, i.e. 6,134 more than in the same period of 1986.

Transportation Complex [subhead]

The public transportation economic trusts carried 326 million tonnes of freight, of which rail transport carried 61.7 million tonnes, and internal road transport 239 million tonnes.

Some 22.4 million passengers were carried, which is 1.4 percent more than the planned numbers and 42 million, or 2.8 percent, more that in the first 9 months of 1986.

To accommodate the increased numbers of passengers, additional trains were brought in in rail transportation and the rolling stock of a number of trains was increased, thus providing an additional 811,000 passenger seats.

Compared to the first 9 months of 1986, road passenger vehicles were better at keeping on schedule and their traveling speeds increased.

The planning goals for freight transportation were not fulfilled during the 9-month period by the public transportation services as a whole, nor by the rail and road transportation services for domestic freight. Weaknesses were permitted in transporting agricultural products, chemical fertilizers, soda ash, coal for domestic use, cement, and other bulk freight.

Communications Complex [subhead]

Development and improvement of the material-technical base of communications continued. The postal network was expanded by 10 post offices, seven of which are

in villages. Some 95,546 new telephones were installed, of which 78,675 were for domestic subscribers, and 148 new telex installations were opened. In addition, 16 radio relay stations and 40 television relay stations came into service.

The revenue from communications services was 2.1 percent higher than the planned figure, and 6.1 percent more than during the first 9 months of 1986.

III. [Roman three] Trade and Services to the Population

The economic organizations and producers provided the commodity fund with 395 million leva more products than in the first 9 months of 1986.

	1987, first 9 months, as a percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Meat, not including poultry meat	103.6
Poultry meat	102.9
Fish and fish products	108.1
Milk	106.3
White cheese	104.5
Yellow cheese	102.2
Milk fats	101.4
Edible vegetable oils	98.3
Sugar	104.2
Sugar products	103.1
Children's foods	102.9
Fresh vegetables	92.1
Fresh fruit	87.7
Soft drinks	104.1
Cotton and cotton-type fabrics	98.2
Woolen and woolen-type fabrics	95.6
Knitted outer wear	107.5
Knitted underwear	104.7
Footwear (not including slippers)	100.0
Stockings and panty hose	101.4
Color television sets	164.4
Domestic refrigerators	87.5
Automatic washing machines	99.3
Brown coal	104.9

Retail goods turnover (not including hard spirits) reached 11,859 million leva. The value of hard spirits sold was 173 million leva, or 34.8 percent, lower than in the first 9 months of 1986.

Notwithstanding the rise in the goods turnover, certain types of meat, edible vegetable oils, chocolate products, fresh fruit and vegetables, knitted underwear, certain brands of color television sets, and other goods in demand were not delivered to certain settlements at certain periods regularly and in sufficient quantities. The standard of service in a number of stores and public catering establishments still does not meet the consumers' higher requirements.

The types of services to the home increased in number, which includes those rendered through the labor and skills of different specialists in their free time. There was an expansion in hire services for television sets, cars, tools, and other items. The development of the main forms of services was as follows:

	1987, first 9 months, as percentage of 1986, first 9 months
Metal machining services	113.9
Building and repair services	112.7
Motor vehicle maintenance and repair	109.9
Domestic equipment servicing and repair	108.6
Elevator maintenance and repair	107.7
Tailoring and dress-making services	105.7
Footwear, leather, and haberdashery services	101.4
Furniture and wood-working services	101.0
Textile and knitwear services	101.0
Dry cleaning	101.0
Laundry services	99.3
Radio and television servicing and repair	93.2
Barbers, hairdressing, and cosmetic services	103.3

In all oblasts more services were carried out to the population than in the first 9 months of 1986, the greatest increases being achieved in Varna Oblast—13.9 percent, Burgas Oblast—7.6 percent, and Sofia City—7.4 percent.

Certain types of services are not developing at adequate rates. A number of self-managing economic organizations have failed to devote the necessary attention to expanding the range of everyday services in conformity

with the population's requirements and have completed fewer, instead of more, services than in the first 9 months of 1986. The quality and reliability of certain services does not meet the consumers' requirements.

The plan fulfillment results demonstrate that the economy is developing at a stable rate, and that a step forward has been made in developing the national economy.

During the days remaining until the end of the year we need full mobilization of the labor collectives, tight organization, good order, and discipline in all the economic organizations and enterprises in order to fulfill the plan for 1987.

Zhivkov, Leaders Attend Press Day Meeting

AU301120 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Excerpts] On the occasion of 1 November—the holiday of the daily *Rabotnichesko Delo* and Bulgarian Journalists Day—a festive meeting took place at the Sofia Ivan Vazov National Theater this morning.

The representatives of the mass media in our country greeted Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, with special cordiality. He was accompanied by Comrades Yordan Yotov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Georgi Yordanov, and Stoyan Mikhaylov, who took their seats in the honorary presidium.

Leaders of central press organs from fraternal socialist countries attended as well.

The meeting was chaired and opened by Boyan Traykov, chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists Union.

Radoslav Radev, editor in chief of the daily *Rabotnichesko Delo*, delivered a speech on the occasion—the 60th anniversary of the daily *Rabotnichesko Delo*, the 90th anniversary of *Rabotnichesko Vestnik*, and the 95th anniversary of the daily *Rabotnik*, as well as Bulgarian Journalists Day. [passage omitted on Radev speech]

Greetings addresses were delivered by: [name indistinct], worker from the 8 March plant; by poet Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Writers Union; by Academian Ivan Vasilev, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; by Prof Dimitur Dimitrov, editor in chief of the daily *Zemedelsko Zname*, as well as by Viktor Afanasiyev, editor in chief of the Soviet daily *Pravda* and chairman of the Soviet Journalists Union.

BCP CC Secretary Tsanov on Agriculture

AU301518 Sofia BTA in English 1327 GMT 30 Oct 87

["On the Development of Agriculture"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 30 (BTA)—*Kooperativno Selo* carries a large article by Mr Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP CC, in which he tells of the need for serious changes in the development of Bulgaria's agriculture.

Noting that Bulgaria ranks among the first 10 or 15 countries in the world in the yields per unit of land, the author believes that the actual potential is much greater. According to him serious problems and some negative tendencies have become visible in recent years.

Mr Vasil Tsanov writes that the Bulgarian Communist party has reacted quickly to the contradictions and the negative tendencies. The in-depth analysis of the reasons for these phenomena has proved that the model according to which agriculture in Bulgaria has developed so far has exhausted its potential. A new super-intensive model is now necessary which requires a new type of organization of production, a major element of which should be the workers' teams.

Strengthening the position of workers' teams as chief production unit requires considerable changes in the internal organization of the team, which must lead to harmonious combination between the interests of the state, of the work team and of its members. The piecework principle of production and pay should be introduced at accelerated rates in the entire agricultural sphere. On the basis of economic contracts and in accordance with the requirements of the commodity-money relations, the work team must settle its relation with the other bodies and self-managing organizations, with scientific and assisting teams, with the banks and the planning bodies.

Restructuring of all management bodies above the workteams is already under way, notes the CC BCP secretary, which will make it possible to eliminate the existing bureaucratic layer and will provide conditions for increasing the rights an obligations of the workers' teams. Serious changes should be carried out in the work of the agroindustrial complexes. They must turn into economic associations of the workteam and must fulfill only those functions in the future which cannot be undertaken adequately by the teams. Agroindustrial complexes must be coordinators in the solution of the question for self-satisfaction of the municipalities with basic food products.

Mr Vasil Tsanov points out that new normative documents and changes in the economic mechanism are being worked out at present, certain deformations of commodity-money relations will be eliminated and, more concretely, of the prices of agrarian products and of the means of production. All that must provide a considerable increase of agricultural production's profitableness.

The article notes that new forms are necessary for cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the sphere of agriculture. The first concrete results of the innovation in this sphere have already been achieved: Joint Bulgarian-Soviet production and scientific-production organizations and enterprises have been established in hot-house and market gardening activities.

Husak-Led CPCZ Delegation Departs For Moscow

LD010950 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
0900 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Excerpts] A party and government delegation headed by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, left for Moscow today for the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR]. The departure ceremony from Ruzyne Airport in Prague is described for us now by reporters Antonin Pecenka and Lubos Lidicky:

[Correspondent—in Czech] Here at Ruzyne Airport, which is festively decorated with the Czechoslovak and Soviet state colors, the special TU-154 Czechoslovak Airlines aircraft is ready for take-off. Everything is ready for the departure of our party and government delegation which is travelling, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the celebrations of Great October.

Now the members of the delegation are walking onto the apron—the delegation is headed by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic. Also in the delegation are the following members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium: Lubomir Strougal, the federal premier; Vasil Bilak, secretary of the party Central Committee; and Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly. The delegation will be joined in Moscow by Jindrich Rehorek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and Czechoslovak ambassador to the USSR.

Now the members of the delegation are walking up to the special aircraft where they are awaited by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, secretaries of the party Central Committee, and the chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission. Also present at the airport are heads of departments of the CPCZ Central Committee, deputy premiers and government ministers of the CSSR, officials of the Federal Assembly and National Front Central Committee, senior staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, representatives of the Prague City National Committee, and other figures of our political and public life. Also seeing off our delegation is Marat Kuznetsov, the Soviet charge d'affaires in Czechoslovakia.

Now we are witnessing the final moments of the departure of our party and government delegation. Prague pioneers are presenting Comrade Husak and the other delegation members with bouquets of red carnations, and now Comrade Husak is receiving the salute from the captain of the regiment. Now he is going aboard the plane. [passage omitted]

Now our party and government delegation is taking off for Moscow to convey greetings to the Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the GOSR. Bon Voyage!

More on Departure

LD011326 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1000 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Excerpts] A Czechoslovak Party and government delegation headed by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, left Prague by air today for Moscow. [passage omitted]

The delegation was seen off at Ryzyne Airport, which was decorated with Czechoslovak and Soviet state colors, by Ladislav Adamec, Karel Hoffmann, Nilos Jakes, Antonin Kapek and Josef Kempny, members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, and Frantisek Pitra, candidate members of the Party Central Committee Presidium; Mikulas Beno and Jindrich Polednik, secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee; Marie Kabrhelova, member of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee; Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission; and by other political and public figures. Also present was Marat Kuznetsov, Soviet charge d'affairs in Czechoslovakia, together with Soviet Embassy staff.

As he boarded the plane, Comrade Gustav Husak was presented with a spray of red flowers by Prague pioneers.

Bilak Welcomes 'First Step' Toward Arms Accord

LD311352 Prague CTK in English
1257 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Prague Oct 31 (CTK)—It is necessary to appreciate the achievement of the first step towards a Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium and short-range missiles, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak said today.

Speaking at a rally marking the 70th anniversary of the October 1917 Revolution during which a Vladimir Ilich Lenin monument was unveiled in Ceska Lipa, North Bohemia, Vasil Bilak went on to point out that this first step is encouraging but the fact that the essence of imperialism has not changed must be borne in mind. Imperialist aggressiveness is not abating and therefore the strengthening of the economic, socio-political and defence power of socialism is important.

Vasil Bilak said that the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community need peace in order to be able to carry out their construction plans. Peace policy expresses not only the inalienable interests of nations of the socialist community but also of all democratic and realistic forces in the world, he added.

At present when arsenals of nuclear weapons are being expanded, mankind has only one alternative—to prevent a war disaster—if it wants to survive, the Czechoslovak representative said, stressing the need for the process of detente, disarmament and transition to peaceful cooperation to become irreversible.

"Strengthening and perfecting socialism in all spheres, substantially speeding up its development...means a creative return to the Bolshevik tradition, to the bequest of V.I. Lenin. In this lies also the essence of revolutionary restructuring", Vasil Bilak said, adding that Czechoslovakia is proud of belonging to the community of countries which head the struggle for social progress, peace and socialism.

Prague Welcomes Soviet-U.S. Arms Accord
LD011510 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Commentary by Jiri Cebrovsky]

[Text] Good news has come from Washington. After talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and George Schultz, his U.S. counterpart, and President Ronald Reagan, the date was set for the summit meeting as was the agenda and content of the talks. One could say: This is the end of speculations and conjectures and the end of diplomatic nervousness. The Soviet statesman declared in Washington that the talks he had had with U.S. representatives could be assessed as an uncommon event in international life, as a logical continuation of the large-scale process that had begun in Geneva and Reykjavik. This is a favorable comment, which gives hopes that despite the complexity and frequently conflict-ridden nature of Soviet-U.S. relations many things are changing and they are changing for the better. And one can likewise voice the view that the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Washington will have great importance for the building of fundamentally new relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and will undoubtedly influence the overall situation on our planet. And there is evidence to support these assertions.

Both sides do not doubt that a treaty on medium and shorter-range missiles will be concluded and signed—this is a problem that has been an obstacle for several years on the path toward disarmament. The conclusion of a treaty on the elimination of these nuclear devices is seen by the world already now as a breakthrough of historic significance. Other steps concerning strategic offensive weapons and their reduction by 50 percent, too, are hopeful. Eduard Shevardnadze described this problem as a key one, declaring that there are good prospects for an agreement to be reached on these weapons with the present administration.

The fact that during the talks held by the Soviet foreign minister in Washington a suitable formulation was found to preserve the antiballistic missile system limitation treaty, ABM, despite there being still different views on the observation of it, is also gratifying. The U.S. side insists on a 7-year term while the Soviet Union demands that the treaty be observed for 10 years.

What is, however, preventing this contentious point from being discussed seriously?

Among the list of reports on the coming summit meeting one needs also to include the one which is somewhat in the shadow of big and global disarmament issues. I have in mind both sides' interest that Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan examine and assess during their talks in Washington a whole scale of other problems, beginning with the settlement of regional conflicts, via humanitarian issues and ending with bilateral relations. This is an essential part of mutual dialogue, the broadening and enrichment of it.

Judging by the first reactions and responses, the world has received the news about the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan with a great deal of interest and one could say also with a certain relief. The dialogue has neither been halted nor frozen. It has received a further impetus. And the fact that the two sides, both the Soviet and U.S. sides, are championing the idea of achieving specific results, augurs well, for they are forming the building stones for better international relations.

Husak Congratulates Zhao Ziyang on Election
LD021106 Prague CTK in English 1030 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Gustav Husak has sent Zhao Ziyang a telegram congratulating him on his election as general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

The telegram said that the Czechoslovak Communist Party followed with great interest the 13th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which discussed all the aspects of the most urgent questions of the life of Chinese society and set the main directions of the building of socialism in China. The telegram also expressed the conviction that the conclusions of the congress will contribute to the further development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the communist parties of Czechoslovakia and China and between the two countries.

Honecker-Led Delegation Leaves for Moscow

LD010953 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0848 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 1 Nov (ADN)—The GDR party and state delegation taking part in the celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution left for Moscow this morning, led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman. The delegation includes SED Central Committee Politburo members Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Hermann Axen and Guenter Mittag, secretaries of the Central Committee, and Central Committee member Guenter Sieber, head of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee, secretary of the delegation.

Seeing off the delegation at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport were: SED Central Committee members and candidate members Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Schabowski, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the State Council Dr Guenther Maleuda, DFD [Democratic Peasants Party] Chairman, CDU Deputy Chairman Max Sefrin, LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] Deputy Chairman Hans-Dieter Raspe, and NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] Deputy Chairman Manfred Flegel. Also present was USSR charge d'affaires in the GDR, Igor Maksimychev.

1 Escapes to West Berlin, 1 Arrested in GDR

LD300847 Hamburg DPA in German 0704 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—A 21-year-old man from the GDR fled to West Berlin on Thursday evening. The police said on Friday in response to questions that he crossed the frontier barriers in the south of the city without injury, the man said that his flight had been noticed. He told the police that his 21-year-old friend had been arrested by frontier troops and that the guards had fired two shots.

GDR, FRG Agree To Return Cultural Items

LD010400 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1100 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Berlin, 30 Oct 87 (ADN)—A further step toward the bilateral return of cultural objects moved because of the war was made on Friday with an exchange of notes between the GDR Foreign Affairs Ministry and the FRG permanent mission. After agreeing on the mutual return of archive material in November 1986, the GDR and FRG have now agreed to send paintings and drawings back to their original sites. These were moved during World War II to protect them, and are now on the territory of the GDR or FRG.

This agreement is the result of expert talks that the GDR and FRG agreed to in concluding the cultural agreement in May 1986. Based on the exchange of notes that has just taken place, the GDR will receive 133 paintings, drawings, and etchings from the FRG. The most valuable pieces include works by the painters Reni, Duerer, Cranach, Liebermann, and Munch. The GDR will return to the FRG a large number of paintings that belong to FRG museums, including important works by old and new masters from the Wiesbaden city museum and 16th to 19th century paintings from the Wallraf Richartz museum in Cologne.

Experts from both sides are negotiating the return of other cultural objects—museum pieces, scientific collections, and much more.

Eberlein Meets FRG Party Women's Group

LD302356 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1750 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Magdeburg, 30 Oct 87 (ADN)—The further normalization of relations between the GDR and FRG was at the center of a talk for which Werner Eberlein, SED Central Committee politburo member and first secretary of the Magdeburg bezirk Executive Committee, received Friday a delegation from the social democratic women of Lower Saxony working group. The responsibility of the two German states at the dividing line between two social systems for peace was emphasized.

Another topic of conversation was state measures for environmental protection in the bezirk, and the broad inclusion of citizens in this. SPD State Parliament Deputy Heidi Alm-Merk said the deputation had found, in numerous meetings in enterprises, social establishments, and at the Technical University, not only "open doors but also open words."

During the meeting the FRG women were interested in seeing how the GDR supports peoples in Asia, africa, and Latin America.

GDR, CSSR Support Reconciliation Policy

BK010545 Phnom Penh SPK in English 1101 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Phnom Penh SPK Oct 31—"The German Democratic Republic fully supports the policy of national reconciliation issued by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea with the aim of solving the Kampuchean issue by peaceful means."

The statement was made by Horst Sindermann, Politburo member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR People's Chamber, at a reception on Oct 27 in Berlin in honour of a delegation of the Economic and Budget Commission of the Kampuchean National Assembly led by its Chairman Men Chhan.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the fine development of the friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the PRK and their determination to consolidate and promote these relations.

At a meeting in Jablonec nad Nisou City of Czechoslovakia on Oct 28, Miroslav Jikl [name as received], deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak committee for solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Latin America, said in his address that the national reconciliation program of the PRK Government is a major contribution to the peaceful settlement of conflicts in Southeast Asia and consequently to the strengthening of world peace.

Honecker Message to Mozambican President

LD312341 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Berlin, 31 Oct (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council Chairman, has sent a telegram to the president of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Joaquim Alberto Chissano. It expresses the deep outrage of the people of the GDR at the latest appalling bloodbath committed by counterrevolutionary armed bands in an attack on a column of vehicles near Vila de Palmeiro. Erich Honecker assures the Frelimo Party, the government, and the people of Mozambique of the further active solidarity of the GDR.

Hager on Peace, Ideological Conflict

AU312025 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Oct 87 pp 3-4

["From the speech" by Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, "at a party aktivsession of the Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk Party Organization";date not given: "The Safeguarding of Peace and Ideological Conflict"]

[Text] Never before has mankind been faced with such dangers as at present. The accumulation of nuclear and modern conventional weapons has reached such an enormous extent that in a war there would be neither victors nor vanquished and mankind would be brought to the brink of destruction. The policy of the aggressive, militaristic circles of U.S. imperialism and NATO, which is aimed at arms buildup and strength, at enmity against socialism and against any social progress, increases the threat to peace. On the other hand, the chance to bring about a lasting peace and to solve the conflicts in the world through political means has never been as great as now.

Socialism's Peace Program [subhead]

The Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states are steadfastly working to prevent a nuclear disaster and to safeguard peace. This steadfastness is a characteristic of socialist policy; it is a result of the unity of socialism and peace.

Socialism's peace program, which was again affirmed at the Berlin session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee of the at the end of May 1987, is exerting profound influence all over the world. As the meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with members of the International Trade Union Federation—which is not the same as the World Trade Union Federation—showed, this peace program promotes understanding between totally different political and ideological movements and forces in the interests of peace and peaceful cooperation.

The GDR's policy consists of doing everything—together with the other Warsaw Pact states and all peace-loving forces in the world—to avert a nuclear disaster and to safeguard peace.

We welcome the agreement in principle between the Soviet Union and the United States on the worldwide elimination of their medium-range nuclear weapons. If this agreement is contractually fixed in the near future—and there is reasonable hope for this—this will be a first beginning of nuclear disarmament and a first step toward a nuclear-free world.

After the conclusion of an agreement on the elimination of medium-range nuclear weapons there could be negotiations on a radical reduction of strategic offensive weapons, on a ban on nuclear tests and chemical weapons, on the adherence to the ABM Treaty, the nonextension of weapons to space, and on disarmament with regard to conventional weapons.

The Warsaw Pact states are in favor of progressing from zero-option to zero-option, of eliminating all nuclear weapons, and of reducing the armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals to that level which is absolutely necessary for the defense capability of the individual states and for the prevention of any aggression. The Warsaw Pact's defense-oriented military doctrine corresponds to this concept of safeguarding peace.

Thus, there is the chance that the peoples' hope will be fulfilled and that by the end of the century the world will be free of nuclear weapons. However, there is still a hard and protracted struggle necessary to transform this opportunity into reality.

Enemies of Peace [subhead]

The conclusion of an agreement on the elimination of the medium-range nuclear weapons is a thorn in the side of the militaristic, aggressive forces of imperialism. Thus, Bundeswehr General Altenberg, chairman of the NATO Military Committee, said in Brussels before

representatives of the armament industry at the end of September: "We lose an essential part of our ability to attack Soviet territory. But this is a precondition of our strategy..." (footnote one) (DPA, Brussels, 1 October 1987).

Before the International Council of the USIA (U.S. Information Agency) in Washington on 9 October 1987, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger praised the policy of strength in connection with U.S. interference in the Gulf region by saying: "We have increased our potential enormously and very clearly shown to the world that the United States has the ability and the imagination, but—even more important—the courage to do what we should have done back in the 1970's to regain the necessary strength." Weinberger called the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI), which is aimed at the militarization of space, "the most promising strategic concept that the world has ever seen—at least during the past 45 years." (footnote two) (Federal News Service—News of the News Media, 9 October 1987)

In the speeches of Weinberger and other representatives of the aggressive imperialist circles, one hardly ever or never finds terms such as disarmament and safeguarding of peace. Instead they often speak about nuclear deterrence, the nuclear first-strike capability, and the policy of strength, and they still conjure up the ghost of an alleged threat from the East. The anticommunist hate tunes and the slander campaign against socialism are continuing unabatedly. In short: We are faced with opponents of comprehensive disarmament, with enemies of peace.

It is necessary to stress this and to exactly pinpoint the enemies of peace; in particular the aggressive group—small in number but very powerful—within U.S. imperialism and NATO in the shape of the military-industrial complex. Such U.S. armament companies as General Motors, Lockheed, and McDonnel Douglas receive 87 percent of all orders from the Pentagon and make 90 percent and more of their profits from arms production. Together with the Pentagon leadership this most reactionary wing of monopoly capital is pushing ahead with armament. These forces are striving for military supremacy and wish for world rule by U.S.imperialism. They are blinded by hatred against socialism, the national liberation movements, and the democratic efforts of the peoples. They are powerful because they occupy decisive state and economic positions. They take advantage of modern media—television, radio, and the popular press—and also use cultural means, such as films, radio plays, and shows to propagate the necessity of nuclear arms, to cast doubts on socialism's peace policy, and to keep the lie about the threat from the East alive.

Our image of the enemy is clear: We do not stop the struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism as enemies, as opponents of mankind's peaceful life. Our enemies are not and never have been other peoples or states. Our enemies are only those forces that turn against the vital interests of the peoples—even their own peoples— forces such as racists, militarists, fascists, exploiters, and oppressors, who use their power against the workers class and the other working people; against the progressive movements; and against socialism, the national liberation struggle, and the independence of peoples.

It corresponds most strongly with the essence of their socialist military doctrine that the Warsaw Pact states ensure their combat and defense capability, but that under no circumstances will they ever start military actions against a state or an alliance of states if they themselves are not subjected to an armed attack. We unerringly adhere to the principle of socialist thought and actions not to permit any war—whether fought with nuclear weapons or pursued with conventional arms. This principle corresponds to the humanist character of socialist foreign policy.

Capability of Peace By Imperialism? [subhead]

One could ask the following question: If one has to stress imperialism's aggressiveness in such an emphatic way, why does the document "The Conflict of Ideologies and Common Security," which was agreed on by the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the SED Central Committee and the SPD Basic Values Commission, say: "Both systems must consider each other capable of peace." Can one really speak of a capability for peace on the part of imperialism?

What would be the use of the disarmament proposals of the Warsaw Pact states and the participation in the Geneva disarmament conference, in the Vienna negotiations, in the United Nations, and in the other international bodies, if we were not to proceed from the premise that agreements can be reached—through acceptable compromises, of course—in the interests of peace and international security? The proposals of the socialist states are indeed not propaganda or tactical maneuvers, but steadfast efforts to bring about a change in world politics in view of the danger of a nuclear inferno and to help a new way of thinking achieve a breakthrough.

If in this connection one speaks about imperialism's capability for peace, this is based on the currently existing realistic possibility:

First, to reign in the most aggressive imperialist circles in the United States and in NATO and prevent them from realizing their plans on earth and in space. This possibility is a result of the power of socialism, of the military-strategic balance achieved by the Soviet Union, and of the consistent course of peace pursued by the socialist community;

Second, to make the international movement for peace and disarmament, which is embracing increasingly broad political and social forces, fully effective. This movement, which personifies the world conscience and

the interests and the will for peace of the peoples, is making a decisive contribution to enforce the observation of peace in the conflict with the policy of the aggressive imperialist circles;

Third, to further strengthen the interests of broad circles of the bourgeoisie—including the monopolistic groups of the United States, the FRG, and other West European countries—in the development of peaceful and mutually beneficial relations with the socialist countries. These circles are in favor of peaceful competition of the social systems. They are interested in tapping new sources of profit by mastering the scientific-technological revolution and are striving for a protective mechanism for the capitalist system which corresponds to the realities of the nuclear age, because the unstoppable escalation of means of destruction and the further fanning of the arms race does not bode well for capitalism, either. This was realized by former U.S. President Eisenhower, who warned against the danger of an unrestricted "running wild of the military-industrial complex."

These bourgeois circles fear that the arms race might work against the capitalist system like some kind of a time bomb, might have a destructive influence on the capitalist economy, and might cause socialist explosions that would throw the capitalist world into a deep crisis, because the bourgeoisie, also knows very well that the current enormous armaments are inseparably linked with cuts in the social system and can lead to social tremors which could endanger even the existence of the capitalist system.

In this connection, the words V. I. Lenin spoke at the beginning of the 1920's about the "reasonable capitalists" who condemn "these terrible Bolsheviks..." but soberly assess the socialist realities and the possibilities of economic cooperation with Soviet Russia are highly topical. (footnote three) (See V. I. Lenin: Speech at the aktiv meeting of the Moscow organization of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), 6 December 1920. In: Works, volume 31, page 447) At the same time, Lenin pointed out that there is also a "pacifist camp of the international bourgeoisie" in addition to the "rough-bourgeois, the aggressive-bourgeois, and the reactionary-bourgeois camps." (footnote four) (V. I. Lenin: Draft Resolution of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) on the tasks of the Soviet delegation in Genoa. In: Works, supplement 1917-23, page 423)

This tendency that Lenin described has been further intensified in our time both under the increasing influence of socialism and under the influence of the bourgeoisie's natural sense of self-preservation.

Thus, it is a fact that imperialism has to be made capable of peace and not that it is naturally peaceful. All efforts by the peace forces and by the forces of reason and realism in the world, must be directed at preventing the aggressive circles of imperialism from playing with the inferno of a nuclear war. This requires tough efforts in politics and diplomacy, in the development of economic relations, and also in the international work of our humanist culture.

One also has to expect sudden changes, because the international situation is complicated. In some areas—such as in the Persian Gulf, in southern Africa, and in Central America—the situation is very tense. The counterrevolutionaries, supported by the United States, are continuing their attacks in spite of the unilateral truce announced by the Nicaraguan Government. The South African racist regime is threatening Angola and the other frontline states. In the senseless war between Iran and Iraq, there is the danger of escalation because of the U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf.

Such regional conflicts make a solution to the world's problems difficult and they harbor great dangers. Therefore, we must not succumb to any illusions but must always assess the development of the international situation in a sober and realistic way.

Concerning the nature of imperialism, the characterization given by V. I. Lenin in his work "Imperialism—the Highest and Last Stage of Capitalism" is fully valid; it is confirmed by all facts with regard to current capitalism. This applies to the growing power of concerns and large banks, in particular of the multinational concerns. It applies to the urge to conquer raw material sources and new markets and the policy of neocolonialism, which is pursued in particular against the new national states in Africa. It applies to the fanning of regional conflicts, as is demonstrated at present by the activities of the imperialist powers in the Gulf region.

One must not overlook the fact, however, that in the capitalist world there is unbalanced political and economic development, that, in addition to the main centers of imperialism, there are a great number of small capitalist countries which do not show any urge to expand, and that the contradictions among the capitalist states themselves and between the developing countries, which are in a serious debt crisis, and the main imperialist powers are becoming steadily worse.

Is Capitalism Capable of Reform? [subhead]

Capitalism is currently in a deep structural crisis. While, on the one hand, new industrial branches, such as those in the area of information and communications technology, have developed in the wake of the scientific-technological revolution, in the FRG, for instance, other branches, such as shipbuilding, coal mining, and the steel industry, are suffering from an unstoppable decline. Unemployment has become a permanent state for millions of people. This critical situation is being exacerbated by the enormous expenditures on armament, which are accompanied by cuts in the sociopolitical area. Even bourgeois economists interpret the sensational

slump in share prices at the stock exchanges as a symptom of the instability of the capitalist world economy and as the harbinger of a potential comprehensive crisis.

Of course, we do not overlook the fact that capitalism still has powerful potentials in science and technology, in production, in transportation, and in the service sector.

Thus, there remains the question whether another kind of development of capitalism—a development without the arms race and without total militarization of the economy—is possible. Such a possibility is proved by some countries, such as Finland, Austria, and Switzerland. The dead end into which capitalism is being led by the militant, conservative policy—not to mention the danger of a nuclear inferno—causes increasing numbers of bourgeois ideologists and politicians to look for other ways. All this as a whole also influences the positions of the ruling circles of the big imperialist powers. After all, it is no argument that profit can be made only in the armament business.

Effective disarmament steps will doubtlessly lead to a situation in which armament production has to be transformed into production for peaceful purposes. Instead of wasting enormous amounts of financial means and resources on armament, social problems could be solved, diseases could be combatted, and the environment could be protected.

Elimination of hunger and poverty in the developing countries would be possible within the framework of a new international economic order. This and the solution of other global problems would certainly not fail to have an effect on the economy and politics of capitalist countries, but there is still a long way to go before such a "reform" of capitalism can be implemented. Of course, this would not change the nature of capitalism, that is, the fact that it is a social system based on the means of production in private hands and on the exploitation of the workers class and the other working people.

The GDR's Sovereignty [subhead]

In our peace strategy, we take all these factors into consideration. There is indeed no other way to save mankind from a nuclear disaster than peaceful coexistence and replacing confrontation with cooperation between states with different social systems. Our policy of dialogue and of creating a coalition of reason and realism, which is being pursued with admirable consistency in particular by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, corresponds to this insight.

Only peaceful cooperation of the states as equal partners can guarantee a healthy atmosphere in Europe and can make the European house secure for all peoples living in it.

This was the spirit that determined Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG, because much depends on the relations between the two German states for the development of and the atmosphere in Europe. As the course of this visit shows, important results were achieved:

First, there was agreement with regard to questions of security policy, especially on the principle that both German states have a great responsibility for peace—for ensuring that war will never again spring from German soil.

Second, the independence and equal rights of both German states were emphasized to the entire world. The visit has also created clear fronts. Those forces in the FRG that still do not want to recognize the GDR's sovereignty and equal rights and that cultivate fantasies of a possible reunification—in particular the right wing of the CDU/CSU—received a rebuff. Erich Honecker gave them a clear, unambiguous answer with the statement that socialism and imperialism can be brought together as little as can fire and water.

Of course, the "Experts on Germany" from the CDU/CSU will not give up their efforts to keep the so-called "German question" open. As one of these gentlemen stated, they want to create conditions "that will lead to an operational reunification policy one day." They imagine that as many contacts as possible between the people of the two German states and the spreading of their bourgeois ideology among the GDR citizens will one day cause the GDR to fall right into the FRG's lap like a ripe apple, thus bringing about an imperialist NATO Germany. Of course, in such a Germany there would be no VEB's, no LPG's, no socialist education system, and no freedom for communists and other progressive forces; instead there would be rule of the large companies, capitalist exploitation, unemployment, elimination of peasants, bans on exercising one's profession, and other "achievements" of the capitalist FRG.

Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG has made it clear to the entire world that these speculations are being built on sand. The agreements concluded, which are in line with what can be possibly achieved, create favorable preconditions to further normalize the relations between the two states and to make them fruitful, while proceeding from unshakable historical realities.

In international politics, the GDR is respected as a sovereign state, a fact that was once more proved by Erich Honecker's state visit—at the invitation of the king—to Belgium, a country that is of central importance to the imperialist alliance system since it is the seat of NATO and the EC. It is evidence of the GDR's increased international authority and an expression of the appreciation for its active peace policy and its antifascist traditions. The GDR is considered a stabilizing factor of peace in Europe.

Propaganda and Reality [subhead]

The current situation is characterized by further exacerbation of the ideological conflict between socialist and bourgeois ideology and, at the same time, by our peace-guaranteeing and detente-promoting policy of dialogue with all forces in the world that are willing to come to an understanding.

In the ideological conflict, it is not just when and where we talk with people of good will, who understand today's reality and, like us, are working to safeguard peace that we have to consider; we also have to take into consideration that those who are interested in tension and confrontation and who want to cook their revanchist soup in such an atmosphere are not reducing but intensifying their slander campaign against the GDR, our party, and socialism.

It is astonishing how impertinent some CDU politicians and FRG media are in interfering in the GDR's internal affairs. They arrogantly pose as guardians of our republic's citizens and give advice on how socialism should be changed (as if they were fervent followers of socialism). In short, they are playing a rigged game in line with the reactionary goals. This includes making GDR citizens insecure and alienating them from their state.

The Second German Television service, ZDF, recently reported on the fate of not just a few people who were taken in by the mendacious propaganda of the "golden West" and left the GDR. The moderator said about the life of former GDR citizens in the FRG, among other things: "For many emigrees life in the West is impenetrable at first. Various expectations are disappointed. There are GDR emigrees who are broken by these circumstances because they are all alone, they do not have any family or relatives, who support them, and no profession that is needed in the West. Estimates say that 10 percent of the homeless are GDR emigrees."

The reporter then describes the fate of Frank and Mike, two brothers from Fuerstenwalde, who now live in West Berlin. Mike says: "It is a fact that the freedom of the people here, that they can do whatever they want, and this causes many, many conflicts. [sentence as published] The people become like fighting cocks, they fight among themselves. And love—love and friendship, which are the values that are so important for me, are so atrophied here, so small. They practically do not exist at all. In the GDR there are stronger ties between people, human relations are better because, first of all, money does not play the supreme role and people do not fear for their existence...."

At the end the reporter says: "Mike and Frank are both unemployed. They live in a two-room apartment above Berlin's roofs. Gas has been turned off for quite some time, but they are together. Frank writes, Mike plays the guitar. Both are dreaming of success. Others have long since lost their dreams. They come from the prison of the GDR, do not grow any roots in the West, and become criminals here, too."

Seduced by the propaganda of the FRG media and by the make-believe of advertisements, Frank and Mike exchanged social security and protection of the socialist GDR for the coldness, egotism, and lack of perspectives in the capitalist world. Now they are taught a bitter lesson, which they could have avoided if they had thoroughly thought it over. Their fate and the fate of other former GDR citizens is not only the fault of those politicians and ideologists in the GDR who consider it their main task to engage in a continuous slander campaign against the GDR's social system instead of working for peaceful cooperation and good-neighborliness. It is the fault of those who do not understand that in the interests of peace there must be reason, realism, and peaceful coexistence especially in relations between the FRG and the GDR.

We set our humanist way of thinking and living, our progressive ideas and ideals, and the values and achievements of the socialist GDR against the mendacious imperialist propaganda. It is a priority task of our ideological work to strengthen—through a great number of ideas and convincing statements—the awareness of the individual and society of the affinity with the socialist worker-peasant state on German soil, of the struggle for peace, friendship among peoples, and of the true values of life.

The document "The Conflict of Ideologies and Common Security," which was agreed on by representatives of the SED and the SPD, is an important contribution to the policy of reason and realism. Its importance consists in the fact that it takes note of both parties' concurrence in the main question of the present—the safeguarding of peace—and that it develops a concept of how partnership in security can be achieved. "The safeguarding of peace has become the basic prerequisite of any responsible policy," the document says, continuing: "The demand of the hour is a change in international relations, a policy of joint safeguarding of peace, of dialogue and disarmament, of compromise, of balancing interests, of cooperation, and of revitalizing the process of detente."

These statements meet with our unreserved agreement. Still, the document does not leave any doubt about the fact that Marxist-Leninists and social democrats follow different social concepts and ideologies.

The document demands a culture of political debate, a civilized form of argument. We agree that differences in ideological questions must be clearly delineated and discussed.

In this connection we note that for us Marxism-Leninism is not just a theory, it is reality in the shape of the GDR, the USSR, and the socialist world system.

Our party has a clear social concept: The shaping of the developed socialist society, which is not written down on paper but is being implemented in daily life. This creates long-term preconditions for a higher stage of social development—certainly far into the next century.

We speak of shaping the developed socialist society to stress—as this is formulated in our 1976 party program—that this is a historic process of "profound, political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes." (footnote five) (SED Program: Minutes of the deliberations of the Ninth SED Congress, volume two, Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1976, page 218). In this shaping process all advantages and motive forces, all sides and fields of social life must be developed at a high level according to plan. Of course, this applies first and foremost to productive forces and production conditions and to the entire complex of working and living conditions. Last but not least, it also applies to ideology and culture.

Since the Eighth SED Congress in 1971, there have been important changes in the GDR. The transition to intensively expanded reproduction and the unity of economic and social policy have led to a continuous dynamic growth and to a constant improvement of the material and cultural living conditions. This would not have been possible without the active shaping of social life by the citizens, without exercising socialist democracy in an increasingly efficient way, without the cooperation of the parties and the mass organizations in the National Front, and without the guiding policy of the SED.

Socialism is not a static social system; it is constantly subject to changes. Constantly new problems have to be solved, new paths have to be opened up, experiences have to be generalized, and constructive, progressive conclusions have to be drawn. Our party has strived and is striving to find in time the right answers to new questions, and the successful development in the GDR shows that it is succeeding in doing this.

Of decisive importance is the implementation of the decisions of the 11th Congress, especially with regard to economic strategy, the interlacing of science and production, and the unity of economic and social policy.

In the productive forces, revolutionary changes are presently taking place as a result of the application and wide economic effectiveness of the key technologies—above all microelectronics. All economic sectors are affected in one way or the other. Also all spheres of social life, even the way of living, are seized by it. With the help of modern science and technology the material basis is created that makes it possible to develop the advantages of socialism—above all its social and humanist nature—in an increasingly comprehensive way. This simultaneously requires the continuous development of the full spectrum of socialist production conditions and the further perfection of socialist democracy so that they can be active at any time as a driving force and form of motion of social development.

The world of socialism is changing. Socialism is a growing social system that is constantly being perfected. In the Soviet Union the 70th anniversary of the Great Oetober Socialist Revolution is being celebrated in the spirit of the reorganization of social life. In our neighboring countries, the PPR and the CSSR and other socialist countries, attempts are being made to find ways to achieve higher productivity and efficiency in the national economy and wider application of democratic forms and methods in social life. The socialist countries have an ideology and social system in common, but there are quite a few differences on account of—among others things—the different level of development, historical traditions, or different solutions to economic and other problems.

Erich Honecker answered a question from Belgian journalists by saying that we are following the reorganization that is taking place in the Soviet Union with feelings of affinity and interest. Since its plenary session in April 1985 and its 27th Congress, the CPSU has undertaken an enormous task, which affects all aspects of social life. The reorganization—in his Leningrad speech, Mikhail Gorbachev called it a stage of upheaval in the history of the Soviet Union —is pursuing the aim of overcoming all elements of inertia inhibiting development and to fully open up the powerful material and intellectual potential of the Soviet state.

It goes without saying that we wish the CPSU and the Soviet people great success, because the reorganization will not only affect the work and the living conditions of the Soviet people, it will—and this is its declared aim—decisively contribute to strengthening socialism in the Soviet Union and on an international scale, and thus also increase the weight which socialism places on the scale of peace.

We are convinced that the Polish comrades and the other fraternal parties will also reach their aim.

The SED serves the common cause of socialism by consistently implementing the policy decided by the 11th SED Congress, in close connection with the people, under the concrete conditions under which the socialist German state exists, that is, on the sensitive demarcation line of the two social systems and military alliances. It is the course of political stability, dynamic economic growth, the union of economic and social policy, full employment, socialist democracy, and the full development of the creative forces of the people.

The conscientious fulfillment of the obligations arising for us from the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, cooperation within CEMA, and the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for

Scientific and Technical Progress through the Year 2000 also belong to the contents of this policy. In this respect, the 43d CEMA conference poses new tasks for us.

In this way we contribute to safeguarding peace and further strengthening socialism by implementing the decisions of the 11th Congress, by thinking and acting progressively.

Honecker Message to Berlin City Assembly

AU301454 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Oct 87 p 5

[Greetings address from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the deputies of the Berlin City Assembly on the occasion of the festive session on 28 October 1987 commemorating Berlin's 750th anniversary]

[Text] Esteemed deputies of the Berlin City Assembly:

I convey to you most cordial greetings and congratulations on your festive session today on the occasion of Berlin's 750th anniversary.

The celebrations on Berlin's 750th anniversary are a jubilee of great national and international importance. As the GDR's capital, Berlin demonstrates the efforts for peace of our worker-peasant state and reflects the creativity of the liberated people who have taken their fate into their own hands. Beautiful and young as never before, Berlin, as a socialist metropolis, is evidence of the vitality of socialism and of our country's successful policy which is aimed at the welfare and happiness of the people. This city, from where German imperialism unleashed two devastating world wars, today is justified in bearing the honorary title "City of Peace," which was awarded by the World Peace Council. Firmly rooted in the rich traditions of the German people's struggle for peace and understanding among the peoples, it enjoys worldwide renown as a venue of meetings and constructive political dialogue. Since the establishment of the GDR, everything is being done here so that war will never again spring from German soil, but only peace.

You hold your festive session on a historic day. On 28 October 1237 the city was mentioned in a document for the first time. Founded as a settlement of traders and merchants, Berlin has experienced many changes in history. For more than 7 centuries the city's development was determined by social conditions which were characterized by exploitation and oppression. Berlin was the center of the ruling junkers of the Brandenburg March, of Prussian militarism, and the metropolis of power of German imperialism and fascist tyranny.

At the same time, however, the city was a place of industrious work by the simple people, of self-assertion, and repeated rebellion by the working people and the humanist forces against reaction and war, the place of work of internationally known architects, artists, and scholars. These finally decisive traditions are reflected by the work of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and V. I. Lenin in Berlin, and by the city's development to the center of the revolutionary German workers movement.

Berlin, in whose walls the contradictions between capital and work have been reflected since the end of the past century as in hardly any other big German city, became the site of important class struggles. This is demonstrated by many historical data and events that have had repercussions far beyond the city walls. From the portal of the Berlin Palace, Karl Liebknecht proclaimed the socialist German Republic in the 1918 November revolution. In the building of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies the KPD constituted itself at the turn of the year 1918-19. From Red Berlin, Thaelmann's Central Committee led the struggle against the brown danger, which approached during the Weimar Republic; here the KPD group in the City Assembly, headed by Wilhelm Pieck, defended the interests of the Berlin working people, and during the fascist dictatorship Berlin was one of the most important centers of the antifascist resistance struggle.

Finally, it was the lowest point of the history of the German people and the city when World War II, which had been unleashed by the fascist rulers, hit back so disastrously and Berlin fell into ruins.

On Berlin's soil, in Berlin-Karlshorst, the ultimate destruction of Hitlerite fascism by the Soviet Union and the other states of the anti-Hitler coalition was documented to all the world on 8 May 1945. Thus the historic chance had been born to finally and irrevocably embark on the path of progress and peace and to change the situation in the heart of Europe for the better. The KPD appeal of 11 June 1945 started the antifascist-democratic new beginning. In April 1946, in the former Admiral's Palace in Friedrichstrasse, Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl sealed the unity of the revolutionary German workers movement with a handshake. With the founding of the GDR on 7 October 1949 the decisive change in our people's history was made and Berlin became the capital of the first worker-peasant state on German soil.

In the tough class struggle against the effects of the imperialist policy of division, Berlin started reconstruction with unprecedented scope. The protective measures of 13 August 1961 secured the fruits of the people's work and secured the endangered peace. Within a few decades, under the rule of the people, more was changed for the better under the rule of the people than in centuries before.

Thanks to the industriousness and the creativity of its citizens, Berlin has flourished into a center of production and science, in which speedy development of the key technologies is increasingly dominating. With energetic help from the entire republic and with the "Berlin FDJ

Intiative" exemplary achievements have been accomplished in housing construction, in transportation, and in implementing important projects in the area of trade and supply, in the health sector, in science, education, and the arts.

This is shown not least by three new city districts and the workers' traditional residential areas, which are changing their outside appearance day by day, and by the many beautiful new buildings in the center and in all parts of the city. Thus, the citizens' lives and the image of their city reflect in a particularly characteristic way the fruits of the course of the unity of economic and social policy, which was started by the Eighth SED Congress.

Hand in hand with economic and social progress, a rich scientific and intellectual-cultural life has been developing. Historical treasures have been harmonically linked with new achievements and the progressive heritage is enriched with new things. Today more than ever before Berlin is a metropolis of culture and the sciences, in which the international exchange of culture and knowledge is vividly pulsating.

You, dear friends and comrades, as deputies of the City Assembly, and the deputies of the 11 city district assemblies have a considerable share in all these outstanding results.

Under the leadership of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party and with the cooperation of citizens from all classes and strata, the Berliners' active and responsible participation in the management and the mastering of the tasks in their city, its enterprises, and its residential areas, has proved to be an important motive force in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

With the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, a clear, secure, and beautiful perspective has been provided for the further development of the GDR's capital as an attractive metropolis, for an increase in performance and the welfare of its citizens, and for the further flourishing of science and art.

Therefore, today we gratefully remember Berlin's heroic liberators, the activists of the first hour, the rubble women [Truemmerfrauen], and all those who helped to pave the way into a happy future.

I wish you, dear deputies, and all citizens of Berlin all the best, creative energy, and well-being for the new demanding goals. May the 750-year-old Berlin, our venerable and nevertheless young capital, continue to flourish and remain a peaceful home for all its citizens for ever.

With socialist greetings, Erich Honecker Berlin, 28 October 1987

Berlin City Assembly Message

AU021014 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Oct 87 p 5

[Message from the deputies of the Berlin City Assembly to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, dated 28 October]

[Text] Dear Comrade Erich Honecker:

We, the deputies of the City Assembly of Berlin, the metropolis of the socialist German state of peace, which is developing successfully and dynamically, convey to you and the GDR party and state leadership cordial greetings from our ceremonial session on the occasion of the 750th anniversary of the first documented mention of Berlin. We want to assure you that we will use all our power to further successfully implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, according to your great speech in the moving State Ceremony on the 750th anniversary of Berlin, which united representatives of all classes and social strata of the capital. We cordially thank you, the honorary citizen of Berlin and chairman of the GDR Committee on the 750th anniversary of Berlin, on behalf of all Berliners and in full accord with all parties and mass organizations united in the GDR National Front, for your lively personal interest in the development of the capital and for the extensive help and support which you have always provided to us.

The creative SED policy is a commitment to purposefully continue the shaping of the developed socialist society, and to contribute as much as possible to the course of the unity of economic and social policy for the benefit of the people.

Your consistent activities for disarmament and peace, for a fruitful political dialogue—as shown again recently during the official visits to the FRG and the Kingdom of Belgium—confirm the considerable influence exercised by the GDR in the European and world-wide struggle for the liberation of our world from nuclear danger, for peace, and the happiness of mankind. The strong impulses for a peaceful cooperation, which emanate from your international meetings, are also of great importance to the further prosperity of the GDR capital.

Berlin, the international authority of which has been expressed and further increased especially in the anniversary year, will continue to demonstrate the positive attitude of real socialism in the future. In this respect the SED program and the decisions of the 11th SED Congress have posed great tasks to us, the Berliners, for the implementation of which it pays to work and struggle.

The Berlin industry testifies to the productivity of the GDR national economy not only in its own country but also on many export markets. Science and production increasingly form a productive unit which serves the people. In the past decade the capital has developed into

a center of modern high technologies. According to the principle of "Fulfilling the Plan Is an Anniversary Duty" the working people of all sectors strive for the overall fulfillment of the economic and social tasks of the 1987 national economic plan.

We purposefully implement our construction program in order to solve the housing question as a social problem by 1990. The buildings constructed in Berlin have never before been so numerous, so diversified, and so beneficial to the citizens as today. Whether in the new city districts of Marzahn, Hohenschoenhausen, and Hellersdorf or in the traditional city districts, daily our builders struggle for greater accordance with the plan and the best quality—knowing very well that their work constitutes the happiness of many families.

In this respect the citizens' action of "Beautify Our Capital Berlin—Join In" is a great force, which is demonstrated by 1,930 "Golden Numbers of Houses" awarded up to now. We, the Berliners, love our city and we want to prove this by good daily performance.

The anniversary also impressively demonstrates the ties between our capital and all bezirke of our republic. This was clearly shown by the great historical parade, just as by the traditional markets of the bezirke and the festivities in the city districts of Berlin.

We feel bound to thank the working people from all districts of our republic. This concerns especially the friends who, full of energy, directly participated in further shaping the capital in the 11 years of the "Berlin FDJ Initiative" and still lend a helping hand today.

We, the Berliners, confirm the thanks with the assurance that we fulfill the manifold tasks in production and science that we have undertaken toward our country in an exemplary manner.

Our activities are based on the recognition that the things that have been achieved are not yet the things that can be achieved. We direct our efforts at new initiatives in order to use material and intellectual resources of the capital better for the increase in performance of the national economy.

The 12th Exemplary Workers' Conference, which took place only a few days ago, has given us new impulses in this respect. We are above all interested in the higher efficiency of science and technology so that Berlin is always leading in an exemplary manner with regard to the introduction and application of key technologies, and the production of top products in our country.

By a productive exchange of opinions with all working people and the increasingly better consideration of their proposals, hints, and criticism, by using comparative performance appraisal and the manifold results of the democratic discussion on the 1988 plan, we work to implement the ambitious tasks and to always act according to the principle of "Participate in Planning, in Working, in Governing."

As the elected representatives and spokesmen of the people, we want to use all our power for the increasingly better implementation of socialist municipal policy, together with all citizens. In all municipal fields Berlin wants to obtain the hitherto highest results in the year 1987 and thus create solid prerequisites for achieving the targets in 1988.

In this respect we do not overlook that many a thing has to be put straight in close cooperation with the citizens. With the support of our citizens we—on the basis of continuously perfecting a working style with close ties to the people—will organize new initiatives which will further increase Berlin's magnetism at home and abroad. We devote special attention to the work in the 168 constituencies of the capital, which we regard as efficient instruments of constructive cooperation of deputies, local councils, and social forces.

It is our main concern to explain our good policy, which has met with so much appreciation in the anniversary year of Berlin, even more convincingly and continuously in the work collectives, housing communities, and families, and to inform about the development of the city. We want to react to the opinions of the citizens in an even more responsible and sensitive way, in order to effect changes together with them wherever it is necessary.

The forthcoming 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution serves us again as an occasion to assure you, dear Comrade Erich Honecker, also on behalf of all deputies of the City District Assemblies in Berlin, that we will further develop and deepen the friendship with the Soviet Union as one of our most precious achievements. We regard it as our noblest obligation to further consolidate the GDR with high achievements in every respect, thus fulfilling the decisions of the 11th SED Congress aimed at securing peace and the welfare of the people.

With socialist greetings, Guenter Schabowski, Member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, first secretary of the SED Berlin Bezirk Leadership;

Erhard Krack, Mayor of Berlin; Professor Dr Anita Weissbach-Rieger, chairwoman of the Berlin Bezirk Committee of the GDR National Front; Wilhelm Weissgaerber, chairman of the Berlin Bezirk Association of the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany; Fritz Krausch, chairman of Berlin Bezirk Association of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany; Annelis Kimmel, chairwoman of the FDGB Berlin Bezirk Executive Committee; Monika Lang, chairwoman of the Berlin Bezirk Executive Committee of the Democratic Women's League of Germany; Professor Dr Dietrich Voigtberger,

chairman of the Berlin Bezirk Association of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany; Gustav-Adolf Schlomann, chairman of the Berlin Bezirk Association of the National Democratic Party of Germany; Helmut Meier, first secretary of the FDJ Berlin Bezirk Leadership; Professor Dr Arno Hochmuth, chairman of the Berlin Bezirk Leadership of the Cultural League of the GDR; Theo Jorroch, chairman of the Berlin Bezirk Executive Committee of the Peasant Mutual Aid Association. Berlin, 28 October 1987.

Budapest Reports Yeltsin's Offer to Resign

LD011212 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Yeltsin, first secretary of Moscow Gorkom, has asked to resign because at a previous CPSU Central Committee session several aspects of his stance regarding the workstyle of leading organs and the timetable of the line and direction of restructuring were not accepted.

It has also been announced in Moscow that following the debate, the Central Committee made its decisions unanimously [as heard], including, among other things, a decision regarding Mikhail Gorbachev's festive speech to be delivered tomorrow.

Kadar Congratulates CPC's Zhao on Election

LD021204 Budapest MTI in English 1140 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Text] Budapest, November 2 (MTI)—Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, has congratulated in a telegram Zhao Ziyang on his election as general secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Interior Ministry Announces Police Changes

LD301626 Budapest MTI in English 1425 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—A national commanders' conference was held Friday in the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior, which was attended by Istvan Horvath, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

Istvan Horvath set forth the decisions passed by the government in personnel issues.

The Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic has relieved Police Brigadier General Janos Peter from his post as deputy minister of the interior, because of retirement, and the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic has awarded Janos Peter the Order of the Star adorned with golden wreath, in recognition of his activity. The Council of Ministers has appointed Police Brigadier General Sandor Ilcsik, previously head of the Pest County Police Headquarters, deputy minister of the interior.

The minister of the interior has retired Police Brigadier General Ferenc Toth, deputy of the national police commissioner responsible for transportation and traffic, and Colonel Sandor Szeremi, head of the Nograd County Police headquarters. The minister of interior has appointed Police Colonel Ferenc Nemeth head of the Pest County Police Headquarters, and Police Colonel Ferenc Skoda head of the Nograd County Police Headquarters. Police Colonel Mihaly Vorosmarti has been named the new commander of the Revolutionary Police Regiment of the Ministry of Interior.

State Enterprises To Issue Stock to Workers

LD301427 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] According to a government decree, state enterprises can issue property shares [vagyonjegyek] in order to expand the monetary means necessary for their management, and simultaneously, to create workers' long-term interest in the enterprise.

According to information from the Ministry of Finance, at the moment property shares can be bought only by workers at enterprises that issue them. Workers will take any profits from their property shares in the form of dividends. The decree charges enterprises with determining the conditions of issue. At the same time it enables workers to obtain some property shares without paying the face value: by so doing, enterprises can recompense the work of talented, well-qualified employees.

If a worker ceases to be employed, he must renounce his rights stemming from the shares. In accordance with the decree, the nominal value of the shares, even if they are issued several times, can not exceed half the enterprise's entire assets.

Jaruzelski-Led Delegation Leaves For Moscow

LD011446 Warsaw PAP in English 1406 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 1—A delegation of supreme party-state authorities, headed by PUWP CC first secretary, president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, left for Moscow today to take part in gala celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution.

The delegation is composed of PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner, political bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek, PUWP CC secretary, minister of national education, chairman of the main board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Henryk Bednarski.

Solidarity Executive Members Summoned

AU311547 Paris AFP in English 0734 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 31 (AFP)—Former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said Friday he had been summoned to appear next week before the authorities in Gdansk, in northern Poland, to explain the creation of a National Executive Committee for the outlawed trade union.

The Nobel prizewinner told *Agence France-Presse* he would refuse to offer any explanation concerning the creation of the committee when he answers the summons, set for next Friday. However he said the role of committee was to "pursue the activities of Solidarnosc".

Mr. Walesa, who lives in Gdansk, said the summons indicated that all the other members of the executive committee had received the same summons.

The nine-member committee, including several former leading Solidarity organisers, was formed last week to replace the former structures of the trade union, dissolved by the Polish authorities in December 1981.

Accord With Paris Club on Debt Repayments

LD311401 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] The 2-day negotiations by Polish Government representatives and representatives of the 17 states-creditors of the so-called Paris Club concerning Poland's debt repayments have ended in Paris.

An initial agreement has been concluded which has an exceptionally broad scope because it covers payments from 1986 to the end of next year.

The signing of the agreement is scheduled for December. The Polish delegation was led by Deputy Finance Minister Andrzej Dorosz; and negotiations were chaired for the Paris Club side by Denis Samuel [word indistinct], representative of the French Ministry of Economy and Finance.

PAP Reports on Polish-U.S. Consular Talks

LD310033 Warsaw PAP in English 1742 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 30—Polish-U.S. consular consultations were held at the Foreign Ministry here on October 27-30. The U.S. State Department delegation which came for the talks is headed by deputy assistant of the secretary of state for consular affairs, Ambassador Michael Newlin. The Polish delegation is led by director of the Consular Department in the Foreign Ministry Dyonizy Bilinski.

The sides discussed a number of questions interesting to both sides, among them issues connected with bilateral relations, especially problems emerging in the context of the implementation of the bilateral consular convention, personal exchange between Poland and the United States, and those concerning legal turnover between both countries. The American delegation paid a working visit to the passport office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The U.S. delegates, accompanied by charge d'affaires of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw John R. Davis Jr., were also received by under-secretary of state in the Foreign Ministry Tadeusz Olechowski.

'Truly Fruitful' U.S.-USSR Summit Expected

LD010028 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 31 Oct 87

[By PAP journalist Andrej Rayzacher]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 31—A series of Soviet-U.S. diplomatic contacts resulted in developing a programme of talks which are expected to guarantee that the announced third and fourth Gorbachev-Reagan meetings will be truly fruitful. If things go well, the next year's summit in Moscow will be crowned with a treaty on reductions in strategic armaments and limitations (or ban) on armaments in space.

This is what was to be done, this is what the whole world was waiting for. A treaty on medium and shorter-range missiles, to be signed by both leaders in Washington, will have the rank of a historical treaty because it will be the first one signed by both powers in more than ten years. It will be such also because it will liquidate two entire classes of nuclear weapons, though it will be only the beginning of a gigantic process of limiting and liquidating the nuclear armaments.

The toilsome process of Soviet-U.S. disarmament dialogue moves forward owing to the fact that the Soviet side does not passively accept embedding controversies in concrete, cultivation of divergencies, and dogmatization of its own stance.

On December 7th we shall, therefore, watch the "perestroika" and "glasnost" in action which exceeds the Soviet-U.S. relations, action on the worldwide scale. The summit may well bring profound changes in the international relations on the global scale.

Barcikowski Receives PRC Court Delegation

LD302216 Warsaw PAP in English 2242 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—Vice President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski today received a delegation of the People's Supreme Court of the People's Republic of China headed by its Vice President Zhu Mingshan.

During talks the sides exchanged views on the role of jurisdiction in the process of socio-political and economic transformations taking place in both countries.

Zygulski Elected to UNESCO Executive Board

LD312028 Warsaw PAP in English 1927 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Paris, Oct. 31—Poland's Kazimierz Zygulski, chairman of the Polish UNESCO Committee, was elected to the UNESCO Executive Board by an overwhelming majority of votes here today.

Thus, after a several-year break, Poland returned to the executive board running the UNESCO work between sessions of the general conference.

The election of the Polish representative to the executive board is treated here as restoring Poland's due place in this organization, so important for the development of contemporary culture, science and education, as Poland was always one of UNESCO's active members.

Poland's return to the executive board allows here to influence directions of UNESCO development and offers also opportunities of broader contacts for representatives of Polish cultural and scientific life.

Secret Solidarity Quarters Discovered in Malmo

LD301504 Warsaw PAP in English 2256 GMT 29 Oct 87

[By PAP correspondent Tomasz Valat]

[Text] Stockholm, Oct. 29—The Malmo-based *Kvaellsposten* evening newspaper has revealed that emigre activists of "Solidarnosc" along with the well-known Marian Kaleta at their head had secret quarters in downtown Malmo equipped with radio receivers and transmitters used to maintain contact with the underground in Poland.

The secret radio station was situated in the quarters of a ficticious company called MSM Transporter which was chiefly engaged in the illegal smuggling of equipment and materials to Poland.

It was from here that the shipment carried by Jaern, who was apprehended by customs officers in Swinoujscie, was sent. Kaleta is one of the share-holders of the company and the quarters were leased on his name.

The discovery of the case is associated with the bankruptcy of the MSM Transporter company which sent many shipments to Poland. The bankruptcy procedure in this case has not been concluded yet. According to information coming from the receiver in bankruptcy, lawyer Carl-Johan Lingren, "Solidarnosc," which despite the ficticious names of the members of its board, was the basic owner of the company, pursued a lot of dubious business under its cover. The company's accounting was neglected and many important documents required by Swedish commercial law are missing.

Also missing are 683 thousand swedish crowns (over 100 thousand USD) to cover bills for, among other things, rents for quarters leased by Kaleta. He simply threw the political adventurists out into the street. Less and less people, complained Kaleta in a letter to Poland, want to continue paying "Solidarnosc's" bills. This sooner or later had to lead to the political and economic bankruptcy of the organization operating in Sweden.

Central Referendum Commission Meets 29 Oct

LD301431 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—At today's first meeting of the Central Commission for the Referendum Vice-President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski presented its members with appointment acts.

The forthcoming referendum, he said, will be the first one to be carried out on the basis of a new law that enhances democratic style of government in Poland. The principle of this style consists in the citizens' carrying a right to co-decide about issues vital to the nation and state.

In keeping with the Council of State's resolution the commission will suppervise the preparations for and course of the referendum as required by the law.

Next, the central commission's scope of actions was discussed in the light of the parliamentary decisions on holding the national referendum. The meeting adopted the guidelines of the tasks and work for voivodship, basic, and district commissions for the referendum.

Commenting on the course of preparations for the referendum, chairman of the Central Commission and first president of the Supreme Court Prof. Adam Lopatka

told PAP that all organizational actions and legal procedures were proceeding in accordance with the referendum calendar as determined by the Council of State.

This refers also to preparation of electoral register, survey of voting districts, appointment of voivodship, district and basic commissions.

It is not our aim to canvass for the referendum, or to explain the contents of its questions, or to inform about the nature of the second stage of reform, Lopatka said. These important tasks were entrusted by Sejm to Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), its links and councils, which will stimulate public discussion on the reform's chances, on Polish model of democratization of political life, on methods and directions of the development of self-management, as well as on releasing enterprise and initiative.

The kernal of operation of the Central Commission for the Referendum consists in supervision of technical and organizational preparations and of the course of this act of direct democracy, and first of all, supervision of its credibility, Lopatka concluded.

Opposition Divided on Referendum Boycott

AU291416 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 29 Oct 87 p 2

[Burkhard Bischof report: "Polish Opposition Divided on Recent Boycott Appeal"]

[Text] Vienna—The appeal issued by the banned independent trade union movement Solidarity to boycott the referendum planned for 29 November does not elicit approval among all the Polish opposition members. Thus in the underground journal *Tygodnik Mazowzse* the Solidarity activist Jan Litynski describes it as tempting for Solidarity to say "no" to any reform proposals made by the government. But in view of the catastrophic conditions in the Polish economy, Solidarity, with its principled negative attitude to government decisions, cannot escape responsibility. It is the task of the banned trade union to compel the government to accept measures desired by the people.

Workers leader Lech Walesa justified Solidarity's boycott appeal, stating that the questions submitted in the referendum—whether the Polish population wishes a radical improvement of the sluggish economy and the democratization of political life-are couched in too general terms. In its statement Solidarity's executive council refers to a "mere propaganda exercise" of the Warsaw leadership.

Yesterday, before journalists in Vienna, a leading Solidarity member also referred to a "political ploy" of the government. Solidarity certainly favors reforms that benefit the Poles. It also tried to open talks with the government about this subject, in vain, however. Now that Solidarity is appealing for a boycott the rulers depict this as being destructive.

There is great doubt among the Polish population as a whole about the practical implementation of the planned reforms, something which was also confirmed, as it were, by an official poll of the Polish television service. At the same time nobody wants to suggest that the government is not really striving for improvements. But it wants to carry out the reforms without a loss of power and therefore can only resort to administrative means. "We also welcome the reduction of bureaucracy and the cuts in the number of ministries. But there will be no more goods in the shops as a result of this," the Solidarity official stated.

Messner Thanks Outgoing State Officials

LD301200 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] An unusual meeting took place today in the office of the Council of Ministers. Premier Zbigniew Messner met with a group of persons who had until now held management positions in the offices of several supreme and central organs of the state administration.

In connection with the fact that the Sejm abolished more than a dozen ministries, offices and committees the premier recalled three heads of central offices, two secretaries of state, 60 under secretaries of state and others of the same rank, and 16 directors-general. Zbigniew Messner sincerely thanked all those who had been recalled from management positions for their work in the central state administration:

[Begin Messner recording] And I wish you all the best. [end recording]

Leaders Address Self-Management Conference

LD301220 Warsaw PAP in English 0108 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 20—Although the period until now has not been wasted and self-management has strengthened and consolidated, nonetheless, one could have acted more fully, better and more efficiently. This will be necessary in the second stage of economic reform in which self-management has to play a significant and responsible role. Such a conviction dominated the discussions held on the second day of the 8th conference of representatives of crew self-managements.

This thesis was confirmed by the addresses delivered by chairmen of workers' councils as well as members of the PUWP CC Political Bureau: Premier Zbigniew Messner and CC Secretary Marian Wozniak. 34 speakers took the floor in the two-day debates.

Marian Wozniak stressed that the current meeting confirms the fact that the self-managements really feel the co-managers in the plants and have an awareness of the responsibility weighing upon them.

The weakness of our economy lies in the weakness of management, Wozniak said. The attestation of work posts was and is aimed at improving it. One comes across various approaches towards the review of structures on the part of plants. The overemployment in non-production group is still visible. Only a handful of enterprises have introduced desirable changes. One should, therefore, create appropriate stimulae for self-governments and crews to take interest in the results of the attestation.

Wozniak stressed that the second stage of economic reform is a serious challenge for society. The material and intellectual potential at our disposal makes the fulfillment of this challenge, and showing that we are able to accelerate the economic development of Poland, feasible.

In his address Zbigniew Messner characterized the key directions of reformative activities as well as the start of the second stage of reform, stressing that it constitues a deepening and revitalization of the solutions adopted by the 9th PUWP Congress.

This is the same reform but we had started it in the difficult conditions of deep imbalance and this did not allow us to fully make use of its solutions, Messner said.

Elaborating on this subejct the premier stated that the past 6 years, their achievements have enriched experiences, created premises for acceleration and enabled new solutions to be formulated. One cannot, therefore, deny the results of the first stage of reform, he accentuated. One should view them objectively, discerning that which has been accomplished and that which did not work out.

Characterizing the undertakings tied with the implementation of the solutions of the second stage of reform the premier underscored the complex character of this process, stating that its success calls for the implementation of each of the respective elements—in all fields and by everyone. Reforming will take place stage-by-stage and deepen continuously. There is no other road to development and the modernization of the Polish economy, said he.

The consistent realization of the second stage of reform should lead to qualitative changes in management by 1990. These should above all manifest themselves in economic balance and a significant drop in inflation. But this requires the consistency and engagement of all of society, because this process will not be easy, Messner stated.

The premier deemed releasing enterprise, both collective and individual, as an especially important matter. Already today we have many enterprises which post good results, show much initiative and all this in present-day conditions, at that. There are also those enterprises which function correctly but are directed at surviving. Last but not least there are weak enterprises, which lag behind, on the whole for subjective reasons. For these enterprises are frequently characterized by a lack of willingness to seek new solutions and by a propensity to justify such a state of affairs. In the second stage of reform the conditions will be conducive to the strengthening of the best but will threaten the weakest who cannot keep up with the pace, Messner pointed out.

Referring to some voices and issues touched upon in the discussion concerning, among other things, the creation of new organizational structures of the economy, the premier stressed that in the second stage of reform they should be shaped according to economic and not administrative criteria and principles.

Workers' councils have become an organic part of enterprises and a permanent, indispensable element of their functioning. They will play an important role in the second stage of reform as well, strengthening their position because the solutions of the reform create such conditions for self-management, concluded the premier.

Jaruzelski Attends Army Cadre Briefing

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[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 30—The annual briefing of the Polish Army leading cadre was held here with the participation of Polish Armed Forces' superior Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Led by Minister of National Defence Gen. Florian Siwicki, the meeting evaluated the implementation of training and educational tasks and reviewed the results achieved in 1987. Bearing in mind the current situation at home and abroad, including the complexity of determinants related to the implementation of the second stage of economic reform, outlined were the main directions and tasks facing the armed forces in 1988 and following years.

Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski thanked cordially the conference participants for their efforts in implementing the adopted educational and training tasks, for honest fulfilling of soldier's and civic duties, for their selfless and fruitful service. The superior of the Polish Armed Forces wished the army's entire personnel further success in service as well as satisfaction from carrying out responsible tasks for the sake of the country's security and defence.

Urban's 27 Oct Press Conference

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[Transcript of Jerzy Urban's 27 October Warsaw press conference for foreign and Polish journalists]

[Text] Urban: Let me first tell you about the referendum-.The Sejm decisively approved the two questions to be asked of our people. These questions are accompanied by explanations about the goals of the referendum and about the means to achieve these goals. These explanations are not a final document. The list of goals and the means to achieve them can be modified and supplemented. This is an important issue.

The means of regenerating our economy and democratizing our political and social life will be subjected to national discussions. We invite everyone in favor of our country's successful development to join these discussions. It is obvious that we do not count on those who are in favor of the saying that the worse the situation in Poland is, the better for them, because this is to their political advantage.

The extensive national discussion about our development is about to begin, and we hope that its results will help us, before the referendum, to modify the list of measures connected with the referendum. This means that the measures about which the people will have their say in the referendum will be first generally discussed and only then will be finalized and put to our citizens' vote.

Various doubts have appeared in connection with the referendum, and I will discuss two of them as formulated in letters to me. These doubts do not seem to have originated with individuals. A Lodz lawyer blames the Sejm that it has adopted the referendum questions without providing various alternatives for the people to choose from. This is not true. Citizens can make a clear choice. Their "no" to the first question means that they oppose the radical acceleration of the reform and are in favor of the present slower, gradual, and partial reforming process.

Another complaint expressed in a collective letter states (I quote from memory): "You have asked us to state our views in 4 weeks, but the Sejm has already decided everything by adopting a radical variant of the reform on the government's motion. We are to express our views on matters that have been decided in advance." This is a misunderstanding. The Sejm has decided in advance the reform of the center and the reorganization of the government, but the entire package of government bills required to implement the second stage of the reform either has been deposited within the Sejm and waits for the results of the referendum or will be submitted to the Sejm at a given time if the majority of our people say "yes" to the first question.

This means that the second stage of the reform has not been determined in advance, but the referendum results may determine it. That is why the referendum is of key importance for our country's future. I have heard that a prominent Sejm deputy intends to speak more extensively about the connection between the Sejm's work and the referendum.

The foreign mass media have shown a great interest in our changes. Alongside with various doubts, reservations, and critical voices, there have been many positive commentaries about our "tremors" this fall. We are grateful for this interest and for many relatively objective analyses. The Western mass media have also struck a note of sympathy with regard to our changes and the reform. For example, the commentator of the Italian radio station TG-3 said on 21 October something that one hears very seldom in the West: "Jaruzelski's new projects and reforms require extensive direct and indirect support." This commentator also had the West's support in mind and recalled the example of Vice President Bush, who, in the commentator's view, had given us an indirect support.

In general, however, it is hard to understand the political line expressed by influential commentators in the West with regard to Polish changes. I do not have in mind the plurality of views, which is a natural feature in the West and in Poland. I have in mind the inner contradiction underlying the way in which the West evaluates Polish events. Without beating about the bush: The Western mass media are trying to follow the line of support for Polish reforms and, at the same time, to give support and intensive publicity to those who oppose the reform, that is to those who want to boycott the referendum, which is an expression of a new and profoundly democratic practice. Boycott is an expression of disinterestedness in the economic reform, and this expression comes from the people who previously appealed for the intensification of the economic reform, but now they have asked people to boycott it. But we can skip them. What matters is the inconsistent stance of the Western mass media. An interesting event took place in Poland not so long ago. A high IMF official visited us and said that we had made economic progress in many sectors, positively appraised the goals and instrument of the second stage of the reform, and promised the IMF's cooperation on it. Polish Television wanted to have this official interviewed by someone who does not view Polish affairs from the Polish angle, by someone from the West. A Western journalist was asked to interview that official together with a Polish journalist, but he refused. About 10 Western journalists were asked to do this, but they all refused. Usually they pleaded that they must ask their bosses for permission, but this was refused. What were they afraid of? Were they afraid of the fact that two Westerners might have a talk in front of the Polish public?

Ladies and gentlemen, you say that you can express your views freely and that you work for a free press. How can we believe in your unfettered freedom? I have worked

for 30 years in our "regime" press, and when I was abroad I always obliged when asked (only once) to appear on television and (several times) on the radio. I have never asked anyone for permission. Even when I visited London as the government spokesman, a person who is less free than a journalist, I accepted the BBC invitation to participate in a Polish Section program. The BBC will tell you that I went straight to the studio without asking anyone for permission or telephoning anyone.

Ladies and gentlemen from the West, it seems to me that your freedom has been shackled with terrible chains. Perhaps we should defend the Western press on the basis of the principles of the freedom of information as expounded in the third CSCE basket.

Western radio stations, especially Radio Free Europe and VOA, are playing a particular role vis-a-vis the present changes in Poland. Ridiculing all reform concepts, no matter how profound they are, these stations have launched a campaign against the referendum. Radio Free Europe claims that the referendum is fiction and an attempt to place responsibility on the people. It also says that the referendum is a waste of money. Before they knew what the referendum questions were, they announced that the referendum was ridiculous. These two radio stations are continuing to appeal for boycotting the referendum and to broadcast the views of only the people who are always against no matter what.

These radio stations have now unleashed a campaign against the referendum and are trying to talk people into boycotting the referendum or into saying "no" to questions. And these are the same stations that have campaigned for increasing democracy in Poland for years, for radically changing economic mechanisms, for promoting market principles, etc. On 14 October Radio Free Europe said that the balanced market is bound to mean that the poor will be poorer and that the rich will be richer. This is a false view. However, what matters is that suddenly an American radio station finds distasteful that which is precisely the feature of American social conditions. This station has lauded for a long time and intensively the development of private initiative in Poland and has harped on its superiority, but now it finds it quite normal to stress the importance of equality in order to incite some workers against our reforms and against the authorities, who sponsor these reforms.

As you can see, this is obvious dishonesty and a political line aimed at ridiculing whatever is positive in Poland.

We are in possession of reliable information that the American radio stations broadcasting to Poland plan to incite people against the referendum, to combat it, and to ensure that as many people as possible fail to vote. Direct appeals for boycott are not contemplated, but, as one can already find out by listening, appeals for boycott are to be made by the allies of these stations who live in Poland. This is how the boycott will be propagated.

These stations' plan is to ridicule the referendum questions, to claim that there are not enough of them, that they do not apply to all issues of importance to Poles, and that they have not been designed so a citizen can select one of many alternatives. We know that Radio Free Europe intends to broadcast that the referendum will produce nothing, that it is costly, and that it will waste the energy of many people. It will broadcast that those who have designed the reforms are incapable of implementing them. Continuing to frighten people with price hikes, Radio Free Europe will try to provoke them to buy up goods so that our domestic market begins to totter. Radio Free Europe plans even to proclaim that differentiating wages amounts to a betrayal of socialist ideals. But Radio Free Europe people did ponder whether that solicitude for socialism may sound false on the air. Both these American stations intend to say that the reform of the center is a bluff and will do nothing good. They also plan to fabricate and propagate assertions that considerable differences of views and disputes exist among the Polish authorities.

The radio stations run by the United States, a country in which workers have no form of self-management and in which employers are hereditary masters of their employees, intend to defend the powers of the Polish self-management bodies and to claim that these powers are too small. They will incite the state and economic authorities against self-management bodies by claiming that these bodies are staffed by opponents of the government and will alarm self-management bodies by claiming that such bodies are temporary institutions in our country because they have already caused trouble in Yugoslavia and because rationalization does not agree with self-management. As far as we know, these are the plans of the Western, of the American radio stations.

The programs we have heard in the past few days indicate that efforts are being made to realize these broadcasting plans. This line will certainly be developed and intensified.

I would like to close this preliminary statement with this conclusion: The Western centers which are trying to destructively influence the Polish situation and their political allies in Poland itself are unable to openly and candidly oppose the reforms that they previously encouraged us to carry out. That is why they have adopted a line of hindering and boycotting our reforms and of preventing people's approval of them in the coming referendum.

The radio stations in question do not express their own ideas and positions, but are under close direction of the appropriate state authorities. That is why I address these observations to these authorities, primarily to those in the United States. The latter have encouraged the Polish authorities and our people to carry out radical economic changes, to adopt the market economy, and to resolutely change our conditions in favor of increased civic rights and democratization. Following our own Polish model and our own plan, which we discussed with our people,

we continue to gradually carry out profound reforms and changes. These reforms have recently been made decidedly more radical. All these changes are a process whose range and speed depend on many internal and external factors.

I am astonished that the fact that it has been decided to hold a people's referendum, through which the authorities wish to obtain people's agreement for rapid economic and political changes in Poland, continues to be actively opposed by those political centers in the West that have encouraged us to follow precisely this policy and that now attempt to hinder our efforts and to incite the people.

Since I have spoken about the Western radio stations, I wish to tell the Polish journalists, who may be interested, that the former head of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe, who now lives in France, continues to experience great difficulties. First, he has no permit to reside in France permanently and, second, he is unemployed. He registered himself with the Labor Office in the FRG because he hoped to receive the unemployment benefit, but this benefit was refused on the ground that he had worked for Radio Free Europe, which is a foreign and not West German institution, and that his labor rights were the concern of Radio Free Europe only. He now continues to look for unemployment benefits in various countries, including Great Britain. His acquaintances say that he is bitter and continues to try to find permanent employment at a West European university, but he is out of luck. Now he wants to leave Europe. As you can see, those radio stations that I have accused here of immorality with regard to their program policy do not show any exceptional morality in treating their employees, prominent employees in the bargain. Najder has been exploited and Najder can now land on a heap of dung. I would not say that this means that he should go to hell.

I have somewhat hesitated to tell you this story because I know that my statement may help Zdzislaw Najder to improve his lot, which is not my intention. But I do not care much either way. Another question of this kind concerns one of the Polish traitors. I have with me a summary of another section of Bob Woodward's book about the CIA's secret wars. This book continues to create a sensation, and that is why I want to say this. At one time I spoke here about Colonel Kuklinski's role and flight and I said that he had informed the U.S. authorities about impending martial law in Poland and about its details, including internment. I also said that the U.S. authorities did not inform their political friends about the Polish authorities' plans.

Without returning to this affair, I want to say that Woodward confirms all this in his book and writes that Casey, the boss of the CIA at that time, read the intelligence reports sent in by Colonel Wladyslaw Kuklinski, who was the source of the information about the Polish General Staff. This information originated directly with closed circles. A perfect system of transmission and communication was devised to ensure that the transfer of information was timely and safe. Colonel Kuklinski, I quote, transmitted the operational plan for martial law, whose purpose was to demolish Solidarity. Casey transmitted the Polish reports, which were a great success of the CIA, directly to the President. The only thing these reports did not state was the date of martial law. That is why everyone in Washington waited with bated breath. I am summarizing all this because when I spoke about Kuklinski and about the fact that the U.S. authorities knew everything about our martial law plans, the exact date wasn't known. But they had some idea when all this would happen. Still, they continued to doubt and discuss the whole thing. We have now a confirmation of this in a book based on CIA documents, a book written by an informed author, who at one time dealt with the Watergate affair.

This is all I wished to state at the beginning of this conference.

Renata Marsch, DPA: You said that bills and schedules concerning the economic reform are awaiting the result of the referendum. What will happen if the majority of voters will say "no" to the first question? Will all projects be discarded? Will the reform be abandoned?

What will the government do if fewer than 51 percent of those entitled to vote will vote? What will happen if fewer than 50 percent of the 51 will support the referendum?

Urban: The government will respect the results of the referendum. I am hard put to say that all projects will be discarded. We will recognize the fact that the radical reform has not been approved and we will go for the alternative reform approved by the majority. This does not mean that the reform will be halted because we are not going to commit mass suicide. The speed and range of the reform will be modified in line with the will of society, but, in fact, they will be as they are now. We will continue to follow the present policy and to achieve the present moderate results in developing the economy and living standards. If fewer than 50 percent of people say "yes" to the referendum questions, the referendum will not be regarded as binding. This means that the Sejm will again have to make the necessary decisions. Of course, the Sejm will certainly take into consideration the views of the majority of those who took part in the referendum. Kay Withers, *Baltimore Sun*: Mr Minister, to return to the point raised by the lawyer from Lodz, it seems to me that the question formulated in the referendum is basically unclear, that it does not seem to create a clear choice. What is important is whether the people have confidence in the government. In view of this, I would like to ask the following question: Is the current content of the question already final and definitive, or is some

modification expected, so that people realize that by voting "yes" they are voting for a radical reform and that by voting "no" they are voting for a milder, slower version of the reform.

Urban: It is not a question of whether the people have confidence in the government. It is a question of whether the people want to accelerate the tempo of the reform and make it more radical, and that is how I would formulate the question in precise terms. It is no longer possible to modify the questions. The Sejm has adopted the questions. I explained this matter at the very beginning of the press conference. The questions will not change. However, what can change—and one can assume that it will change—is the explanation of the questions, that is the program that lies behind the question and which the question concerns.

Thus, the form of the question will not change, but the content and sense of the question may be modified.

Bernard Margueritte, *Ouest France*: Mr Minister, I would like to exercise the right of reply at this point, because I am one of the 10 people who were supposedly asked about a meeting with the gentleman from the IMF.

Unfortunately, I regret to have to say that the government spokesman has once again described matters in a way that bears no relation to reality.

I can tell you how this occurred in my case. At 1830 the television news editor Szczawinski phoned me with a request concerning a television debate that was to take place 2 hours later, that is, at 2030. I pointed out that this really was at very short notice. Second, I had agreed to attend a Polish-French meeting at the Institute of Culture. In view of this, I did not, of course, say that I would phone somebody to ask for permission, I only suggested that on the following day, while this person from the IMF was still in Warsaw, I could appear at whatever time and whatever hour was convenient. On the following day, Mr Szczawinski phoned and thanked me, in what was a very polite way, for the intention I had expressed, but said that the person from the IMF had not found time to meet me. Thus, one see how what the minister said differs from reality.

Incidentally, I am very pleased to see that the Polish Government's new gods include these gentlemen from the IMF, because the gods in the past were Marx, Engels and others. Nowadays, the gods are financiers from the West and I state with satisfaction that this is a big improvement and I hope that further progress is made in this direction.

Urban: Well, I wanted to comment on your speech. As we can see, one tenth of the problem has been explained, and Mr Margueritte is an independent journalist. As for the rather tactless, in my opinion, comparison between representatives of the IMF and classic Marxist thinkers and the statement that there are other gods, IMF functionaries, as Mr Margueritte said, it seems to me to be a rather poor joke. Never, not even during periods of the greatest dogmatism, were we exclusively interested in the opinions of classic thinkers; we were always interested in the opinions of contemporary people, who have an influence on economic policy. So, there are no changes in whom we consider authorities. Quite simply, we are studying with interest what has been said by the classic thinkers, and we are listening with interest to what is being said by all contemporary thinkers who have something interesting to say on, inter alia, Polish affairs, and I hope this is true Mr Marguerite.

Stefan Dietrich, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*: Mr Minister, if the list of goals and means attached to the referendum questions is not closed, to what extent is it binding, so that one can cite it?

Urban: The list of goals and means represents the basic line of conduct, which we will be asking about in the referendum, but the goals and means can be enriched or modified during the course of social debate.

Gemma Aizpitarte, EFE: The opinion poll conducted in the streets and shown on Polish television concerning the Sejm's approval of the referendum and changes in the center has confirmed that there is public disappointment with the results produced by the reform thus far, and that there is a lack of faith in the success of the second stage of the reform. What does the government intend to do to win public support for its intentions on 29 November with regard to what seems to be this group of disillusioned and disbelieving people?

Urban: The government will try to explain everything calmly, and this also applies to those who are disbelieving and have no confidence and to the even larger group who have not understood the economic logic of the second stage of the reform. We will try to explain what this new economic system depends on, what benefits it will bring, and temporary difficulties it will cause. I also think that facts rather than words will be of great importance. However, the problem is that the reform, in its more far-reaching form, must be put into practice first, and then some time must elapse before the effects will become apparent. In view of this, the government intends to produce, promote, and encourage the greatest possible number of innovative activities in the economy now, that is, without waiting. But, at the same time, we realize that this must be based on a certain amount of confidence, not blind confidence, not confidence that stems from a tendency to be confident, but confidence that stems from understanding. And we will seek to make it easier for citizens to arrive at this rational understanding of the reform. As we know, the subject of the referendum is the draft that has been submitted to the Sejm. However, the document contains quite a significant omission. Reading the document, one sees

that it lacks elements concerning prices and incomes policy. The document tells us that these elements will be submitted to the Sejm at a later date.

By making the document the subject of the referendum, are we to understand that we are to vote for an incomplete document, or are we to treat the statement that you have made today as a declaration that this very important element will be included in the document.

One would like to accept this version on the basis of the statement made by Vice Premier Sadowski in this hall on the day of the Sejm meeting.

Urban: Yes, of course. Prices and incomes policy will be set out in concrete terms and will be submitted as part of the referendum.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: Mr Minister, we are talking about the future all the time, but many people would really like to know if there will be any more price rises this year?

Urban: There will be no further increases in official prices during 1987, apart from the usual seasonal increase in the price of milk that occurs in winter. Thus, my reply concerning this year is short and clear.

The announcement of a reorganization of the structure of prices, which is part of the reform that is being debated and prepared and will begin next year, has already had a negative effect on the domestic market. Some people have already started buying more in view of the price increases that will be introduced. I would like to say that a price has to be paid for democracy and openness.

Citizens want to know in advance what price policy will be like and they will know. This will be the subject of debates and consultations. We will not do anything without announcing it beforehand, and we will not be pulling any surprises. But it must be realized that discussion about prices and pay can cause difficulties in everyday life that stem from the purchase of goods and, as we know, the Polish balance of payments situation is not one that would permit us to make up for these shortages by importing goods.

Unfortunately, announcements concerning price rises cause goods to disappear from shops. But gossip sometimes interprets the disappearance of goods in the following way: The authorities are hiding goods because they are waiting for a price rise, and they want to sell the goods later for more. This is absurd gossip. Playing an honest game calls for mutual trust. There can be no other rules.

Every announcement of changes in prices and incomes policy has a disorganizing effect on the market. I can imagine another opinion emerging tomorrow, namely, that the second stage of the reform, which was to produce an improvement in market equilibrium, has had the opposite effect, that is, it has led to a deterioration in equilibrium. I would like to warn against this kind of thinking. It is not the second stage of the reform but simply an open information policy that causes and will cause such temporary purchasing difficulties. Public reason and self-discipline, which is the way in which support for the reform should manifest itself, will determine whether these difficulties are as insignificant as possible; I am thinking of difficulties in making of purchases.

Stanislaw Shtukatorov, *Novosti*: Mr Minister, the PPR Sejm has recently made what are, in my opinion, radical decisions concerning the socioeconomic life of the country. The 43d CEMA session has been dealing with issues pertaining to the modification of the mechanisms according to which the organization operates. Do you see any connections between the Sejm decisions and the CEMA session? If so, what connections are there, and what would you say about them?

Urban: I think there are. I would affirm, above all, that Poland is embarking on a period of important economic, social, and political changes. The decisions that were made at the CEMA session, which took place at the level of heads of member-state governments, that is, at the highest statutory level, concerned economic cooperation, CEMA instruments and mechanisms, and the reorganization of the structure of CEMA. Indeed, the direction of these changes is very much in line with the changes that are taking place in Poland; this particularly applies to the system for the management of the national economy.

I would like to mention two similarities above all. The first is a trend toward a greater emphasis on principles of economic efficiency. This refers to replacing administrative and bureaucratic regulations with economic instruments and mechanisms. This applies, above all, to the growing role of direct cooperation between enterprises in individual states, the creation of joint enterprises, and increasing the range of their activities. Sound economic calculations should make it possible to replace the administrative organization of such cooperation. Enterprises themselves will choose the partners with whom they wish to cooperate and decide with whom economic ties are the most profitable.

A second similarity is the move toward a greater emphasis on function. Both Poland and CEMA are departing from a branch-sector view of the economy and are increasing the role played by exercising a functional influence on the strategic directions of economic development. There are more similarities of this kind. Further examples are the introduction of leaner administrative structures, a reduction in the number of various committees, commissions, and councils, and the introduction of principles of economic efficiency, which is something that is happening in both Polish and CEMA structures.

Similar solutions are also being applied with respect to the modernization of production technologies, and the comprehensive and efficient use of scientific achievements, by way of specialization and production cooperation, inter alia.

Krzysztof Bobinski, *The Financial Times*: Mr Minister, I find it very difficult to believe in the second stage, that is, this stage of the reform. As a matter of fact, a few years ago we heard almost the very same words about the first stage of the reform, and now you are using almost identical words about the second stage. But perhaps this is not so important.

There is also the question of the new composition of the government. Last week you said that this will be a government of reformers. I also have doubts about that. If, during the course of the last few months, the present minister of industry has been trying to establish a monopoly, to centralize the electronics industry, does this guarantee that he will be eager to introduce the principles of the second stage of the reform?

And I have another question, concerning trade union pluralism. There are rumors in Warsaw that Miodowicz, the head of the OPZZ, suggested including this issue in the referendum. It has not appeared. In view of what you have now said, is it possible that these additional explanations will be expanded? Could this happen?

Urban: There is a clear misunderstanding surrounding the first question. Previously, Minister Bilip was actually head of the "Polcolor" factory producing modern picture tubes. And as head of the firm, he was the heart and soul behind the venture aimed at creating a company that brought together the majority of plants in the electronics industry. I have surely already expressed a view on this in response to the question asked by Mr Bobinski, and I explained that all over the world there must be a concentration of factors of production and capital on selected development ventures. The Polish Government has formulated a program for the development of electronics and the application of electronics in the entire economy, and it has allocated a certain amount of financial resources for this purpose in both zlotys and foreign currency. However, there must be an instrument for the appropriate use of these resources. In a word, the second stage of the reform not only permits but actually encourages the creation of the most diverse structures and the most diverse systems of ties between enterprises. And part of the electronics industry is establishing ties of this kind at the present time. Some have started on this, others have not. Some enterprises see there being more advantages in making use of the funds that will be at the disposal of the company's managerial board, others do not. This is what is most compatible with the reform. After all, the second stage of the reform does not mean a reversion to some kind of old fragmented economy. There is no place in the world where the development of electronics is taking place in small, fragmented factories; it is the fruit of the concentration of capital on specific ventures. What we are talking about is a company under commercial law.

Some observers of economic life, both Polish and foreign journalists such as the questioner, Mr Bobinski, consider all forms of combining enterprises out of step with the spirit and sense of the second stage of the reform. This is simply a misunderstanding. It is a mistaken train of thought, not just with respect to "Polcolor" and Minister Bilip, but a methodological mistake in general.

Thus, the suggestion contained in the question, namely, that Minister Bilip is not a reformer, has a weak foundation. He was appointed to run the ministry precisely because he is an advocate of reform and a manager with great economic imagination, extensive knowledge, and international contacts, which provide him with the means to draw comparisons and make it easier for him to run that large entity that is Polish industry.

The second matter, that the chief of the OPZZ is meant to have proposed including pluralism in the referendum. I think that you are confusing Mr Miodowicz, the head of the OPZZ, with the leader of a trade union that has not existed for some time now and who made proposals of this kind to Western journalists. I do not know anything about Mr Miodowicz proposing that a question on trade union pluralism be included in the referendum, but one ought to ask Mr Miodowicz himself. Of course, I cannot say anything authoritative about this and I have not been authorized by Mr Miodowicz to provide a reply.

Krzysztof Lewandowski, *Kurier Polski*: Mr Minister, could you say how much it is going to cost to conduct the referendum?

Urban: The funds allocated for this purpose from the budget reserve amount to exactly Z954,449,000. Central expenditure on this amounts to more than Z273,000,000, and local ependiture amounts to more than Z681,000,000. Kay Withers, *Baltimore Sun*: You said a specific program on prices and incomes policy would be published before the referendum. Can you honestly tell us if two versions of this plan are going to be presented, a more radical and a less radical version?

Urban: I do not know how many versions are going to be presented. The document has not been presented because it is not ready.

Bernard Margueritte, *Ouest France*: You have said that by saying "yes" to the first question on the referendum ballot paper, the citizen will express his preference for a rapid though painful way out of the crisis, and that by saying "no" he will quite simply be in favor of the economic policy so far. I would like to ask what a citizen is supposed to do if he supports neither alternative. Is he to hand it a blank ballot paper? What is he supposed to do?

Urban: I would suggest he presents his own idea on how to develop the country and repair the economy. Perhaps it will be better than any of the alternatives presented so far. After all, it is difficult to call the alternatives government alternatives because all the government has done is give a concrete shape to the discussions that took place for a very long time among very many milieus.

Zoumer Saba'a El Dear [name as published], *Al-Ba'th* Syria: The post of health minister has been taken over by Professor Komender, an expert in this field. Can one therefore assume that the situation with medical personnel will be better in future, especially concerning doctors and nurses? I think their situation is atrocious.

Urban: One may expect a better situation because the government realizes that better material supplies for health premises and personnel are essential. The Health Ministry is working on the most economical ways of improving these supplies. And if one took the trouble to read the entire concept for implementing the second stage of the economic reform, he would come across ways to save in the health service, too. I believe the new health ministry will give a new momentum to this search.

Charles Gans, AP: I have a question about the referendum. Let us say someone does not agree with any of the patterns of the second stage of the political reforms, does not agree with the Polish model at all, but prefers the Swedish or American method of political functioning. Suppose he believes that political competition ought to exist, because democracy, at least the way I see it, means competition, not a constitutional guarantee of the leading role of one party. So how is such a person to vote? Is he supposed to say "no," or something else? By the way, how would you interpret "no" to the second question? As an expression in favor of a smaller dose of democracy?

Urban: Your first question seems to be addressed to the wrong person. Why don't you ask these people how they plan to behave. Why is the government spokesman supposed to answer this? These people are bound to say that they would like to go to America or Sweden more than anything, or give another answer.

Your second question, how to interpret "no" to the second question in the referendum. I think it would mean that the voter does not support the democratic changes that form the background to the question. For if someone supports far-reaching changes, he is bound to reach the conclusion that the proposed changes do not exclude the possibility of future changes. So saying "no" would illustrate a reluctance toward democratic changes. And of course there are people in Poland, it is difficult to say how many, who do not trust the proposed changes, who hold conservative views.

Waldemar Janiec, PAP Foreign Service: Is there any news about the agricultural foundation?

Urban: The minister of agriculture has approved a statute for a foundation to be known as the Support Foundation for the Supply of Water to Rural Areas, appointed by the primate of Poland.

Christopher Bobinski, *Financial Times*: I am interested in the Hungarian premier's visit. Is some sort of meeting with him planned?

Urban: In connection with Premier Grosz' visit, I wish to say that relations between our countries are developing very favorably, especially in the economic sphere. Hungary is a very important partner for Poland, whereby our relations are marked by a very high degree of coproduction and other modern industrial ties. I believe the visit will sum up the economic cooperation so far and provide a stimulus for important new decisions concerning connections between the Polish and Hungarian economies. One can expect concrete actions in this sphere to be discussed.

Poland and Hungary hold a similar stance concerning the reconstruction of CEMA and the future of socialist integration as a whole, because the institutional changes taking place in both countries are similar. One can also expect talks and an exchange of experience concerning these topics. As part of the socialist community, Poland and Hungary are trying to pursue an energetic policy in the international arena aimed at detente, security, and cooperation. I believe this visit will permit preliminary talks on this subject as well.

A press conference only for Hungarian and Polish journalists is foreseen. If Director Gorski [of *Interpress*] cannot explain, one should ask the spokesman of Premier Grosz' entourage.

Charles Gans, AP: I think my question was mistranslated. You said exactly what would happen if the first question is answered by "no," whereas what I wanted to know was what the government intends to do if the second question is answered by "no." And what would the government's policy be if that happened? Finally, what if the first question is answered by "no" and the second by "yes"? Would the government continue the democratization of political life without the reforms?

Urban: No government spokesman enjoys exercises of the "what if" variety All I can say is if the majority of society did say "no" to the second question, and this is improbable in the light of our knowledge, then the government would not go ahead with the democratic changes in question, because it would accept the will of society. And if the majority said "no" to the first question and "yes" to the second? Quite simply, the government would pursue a policy that takes into account these differences of opinion, in other words the greater opposition toward economic reform and greater support for political reform, but it would only do so to the extent to which it is possible to separate these two streams of reform in real life. After all, it is the Western

press that tried to convince us that economic changes are inseperably connected with political ones and vice versa. So a "no" to the question about the economic reforms would also curb the political changes and deprive them of their social base.

Renate Marsch, DPA: I only wanted to say the same as Mr Margueritte. I too was invited to see the IMF representative, half an hour in advance. And I already had other plans for that evening. As it was, I could not go and see him. And one more thing, I never said I had to have permission to appear on Polish Television.

Urban: Seeing that you have spoken, I would like to refer to a question you asked at the previous conference. You asked me about the results of talks between the Polish and GDR authorities on the subject of the maritime border. I said I did not know any results and had nothing to say on this subject. Now I wish to explain that there have been no such talks lately, in other words your question was based on surmise.

Kay Withers, *Baltimore Sun*: I understand that during General Jaruzelski's last Berlin visit and during talks with Minister Orzechowski, it was said that talks on the maritime border are planned for October. Does that mean the talks will take place in October, or in November, or perhaps they have been postponed altogether?

Urban: Everything is proceeding normally, the talks will take place soon. I cannot guarantee if this will be in October or not.

Seeing that no one is asking any questions, I myself will speak. I expected questions about the referendum boycott that was announced yesterday and about the emergence of a new "Solidarity" structure called for in this boycott.

Reuter telephoned yesterday about this matter, and another agency, AP I think, telephoned my office and asked my view. I have prepared a statement, but I see that the Western press has lost all interest in the former "Solidarity" leadership. I consider the question as having been asked, because it was asked over the telephone. In any case, in connection with the laughter in the hall, I want to say that a government spokesman may talk whether a question has been asked or not. He can speak of his own accord, and avails himself of this possibility.

I would not take advantage of the right to speak without first being questioned were I not convinced that even though no questions are being asked, the Western press will pay a lot of attention to this boycott called for by a group of former "Solidarity" leaders. First, I was asked for an opinion about the new structure called National Executive Commission. There have been so many alterations to the structure of the former Solidarity's fragmented authorities that it is difficult even to remember names. There have been councils and commissions, underground and overground, temporary and non-temporary. First of all I will try and master this evolution of names and structures in order to gain my bearings. But it does not seen so important, because the same people used to meet and are still meeting under various names, and I think names are only meaningful to those of whom some form one new body and others form another competing body because of their endless squabbling. On the other hand, it is worth saying a few words, and perhaps even more than a few words, about this boycott of the referendum.

Above all, it is worth noting when this section of former "Solidarity" leaders adopted a policy of boycott. No one denies that the party, PRON, and state authorities have just provided powerful stimuli for radical economic reforms and profound political changes. This is a development stage where the objectives have been beyond doubt for a long time. Whatever change, improvement, or development happens in Poland, there is always some political group, a squabbling political group in fact, who says: that's not it, that's not enough, that's not right, that's only a facade, we are against it.

We initiate reforms, and they say they want even further-reaching reforms. When later our reforms reach the stage where they can be enhanced and radicalized, this party of discontented persons is not even in a position to support its earlier demands. So this is opposition for the sake of opposition.

By calling on their supporters to boycott the referendum, these gentlemen who now call themselves the National Executive Commission instead of Temporary Coordinating Commission have declared that they oppose the reforms, the very reforms they called for so loudly earlier on. Therefore their attitude is devoid of all seriousness, and now it is even contrary to state interests. All thought of Poland, of how their countrymen are going to live, of how our country is going to develop, has disappeared with all their games and meanderings.

I ask you: What moral right did they have to criticize the first stage of the reform and boycott the second? When the authorities announced the first stage, these people called for go-slows. When the first stage was implemented, they supported the Western sanctions against Poland that caused Polish society losses amounting to about $15 billion. Think how far we would have progressed with our reforms, how much higher our standard of living would be, if we had these billions of dollars to pay for imports, and think how less burdened by debts we would be.

So they really have no moral right to speak out.

By their boycott attitude they are shutting themselves off from the public life of the country and ignoring the hopes and aspirations of millions of former "Solidarity" members who once elected them. A boycott is a form of self-isolation. Western correspondents have asked me

many times why we, the government, do not want to talk to them. Now I think these former "Solidarity" leaders have provided the answer themselves. They are not interested in what is really happening in Poland, which really exists. They are but a shadow of their past, a relic of their former policy which brought society nothing but an exacerbation of the crisis and dramatic conflict, brought on the necessity of martial law, and delayed and made difficult the reform.

By saying "no" to everything and turning their backs on the most important matters of society, these gentlemen are lending expression to the attitude "the worse it is, the better." So they are chasing themselves into isolation. Their position is funnier than it is tragic. They are only as important as Radio Free Europe makes them out to be. They represent a rather pitiful finale to the former great hopes of a considerable part of society.

As far as thoughts of boycotting the referendum are concerned, let me tell you that society decides by itself whether to vote and how to do so. Citizens will act in the way dictated by individual and collective wisdom. In any case, we know that society wants reforms. The sluggishness and inconsistency of the past has made them impatient. The reforms that have now been proposed to all Poles are not a figment of the authorities' imagination. Their shape, path, and broad scope has emerged from social discussions, from the collective intellectual output of people holding various views from consultations. These reforms are a synthesis of various opinions and desires, some of them more far-reaching than others.

If the majority does not approve of the questions asked—if they either fail to answer them or say "no," then we will continue the policy of slow, cautious, and fragmentary reforms. These will guarantee slow progress and partial results. I have already said so at today's conference. In any case, Polish society does not respect those who turn their backs on its vital affairs and boycott that on which the future of all of us depends.

I only ask one thing of Western journalists, that they do not perform journalistic schizophrenia and refrain from praising the reforms and the boycotters at the same time. I know Western commentators are in a dilemma, not knowing whether to support the reforms they themselves recommended to us, or their political friends and colleagues who are ignoring, combatting, and boycotting the reforms. One can behave this way or that way. But if you support both the reforms and the opposition to the reforms, ladies and gentlemen, then I do not think even your Western readers will be able to understand anything more.

Ceausescu Leaves for Moscow Festivities

AU011505 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] This morning, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania left for Moscow at the head of a party and state delegation, which, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers will participate in the festivities on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution.

The following comrades are included in the delegation: Constantin Dascalescu, member of the RCP Central Committee PEC and prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania; Ion Stoian, candidate PEC member and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; and Ion Bucur, RCP Central Committee member and Romania's ambassador in Moscow.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania was seen off by full and candidate members of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, by RCP Central Committee secretaries, by members of the RCP Central Committee and of State Council and of the government, leaders of some central institutions and mass and civic organizations, and by other officials. Also in attendance were the USSR ambassador in Bucharest and other embassy members. A group of Pioneers presented flowers to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

On arrival at Moscow Airport, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was welcomed by Comrades Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; heads and deputy heads of sections at the Central Committee of the CPSU, deputies of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and other officials.

Upcoming Reagan-Gorbachev Summit Reported

AU311327 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] A joint Soviet-American communique from Washington reported by TASS specifies that Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan have agreed to meet in the United States beginning on 7 December 1987.

On this occasion, TASS emphasizes, the entire range of problems regarding relations between the two countries will be examined.

During the coming meeting in the United States, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S. President will sign a treaty on the total elimination of USSR and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles and will establish the agenda for future contacts between the leaders of the two countries.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S. President intend to meet in the Soviet Union in the first half of 1988.

World Trade Union Federation Holds Meeting

Session Opening

AU291902 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1707 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/10/1987—Starting October 29 the Romanian capital city is the venue of the 40th session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

Attending are representatives of nearly 100 TU organizations from 70 countries and of 11 international trade unions federations.

The session, preceded yesterday by meetings of regional TU organizations from Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa and Arab countries, were opened by WFTU President Sandor Gaspar.

For three days the session will debate the evolution of the TU movement of late, the ways for a more active participation of trade unions in the achievement of peace and disarmament, in finding an equitable solution to the foreign debt problem, the eradication of underdevelopment and the building of a new international economic order.

The chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Unions Confederation of Romania (GTUCR), Miu Dobrescu, addressed the participants a warm salute, expressing the conviction that the talks to be held would lead to strengthening the good ties of collaboration among the trade unions affiliated to the federation, to consolidating the unity and solidarity of the international trade unions movement, in the interests of peace, collaboration and progress worldwide.

The speaker showed that now the TU movement, all peoples should rally their efforts in the fight for the achievement of disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, the elimination of the medium- and shorter-range missiles from Europe and Asia, of all nuclear weapons, for the building of a world of peace and collaboration, for the safeguarding of the people's fundamental right to work and life.

The WFTU general secretary, Ibrahim Zakaria [spelling as received], read a report on the results of the Eleventh World Trade Unions Congress and the evolution of the trade unions movement.

Gaspar Addresses Session

LD300056 Budapest MTI in English 2235 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, October 29 (MTI)—Sandor Gaspar, head of the Hungarian delegation and president of the Hungarian National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), addressed the Bucharest session of the General Council of the WFTU Thursday.

With regard to international issues he spoke about the endeavours of international imperialism that aim to force the Soviet Union and the socialist countries into an arms race. However with its realpolitik, constructive proposals and its readiness for compromise the Soviet Union has compelled the West to the negotiation table.

On the competition of the two social systems Sandor Gaspar said that the challenge must be met. Both the Soviet "perestroyka", and the socio-economic renewal in progress in the other socialist countries, including Hungary, strengthen the national and international positions of socialism and serve the end that the better exploitation of opportunities inherent in socialism could intensify economy.

In Hungary, he added, in the interest of reaching higher efficiency, measures that might trigger social discontent have to be be taken. Aware of the temporarily unfavourable measures, the trade unions back the work programme aimed at strengthening the economy.

Today, Hungarian trade unions have to take increased responsibility for the future of the whole country, and improve their work of representation. They can not be afraid to more often undertake conflicts with the government. We are looking for answers for the questions raised by life, as well as the place of the trade union movement in the new situation. However we are not willing to use means not compatible with the characteristics of the socialist society, said Sandar Gaspar.

Ceausescu Receives Participants

AU301933 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1603 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/10/1987—On 30 October President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received the participants in the 40th session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which proceeded in Bucharest, where there have been represented nearly 100 trade union organizations of more than 70 countries of all the continents, as well as 11 international T.U. federations.

Emil Bobu, Miu Dobrescu, Ion Stoian and Constantin Mitea participated.

In his address, Miu Dobrescu, chairman of the GTUCR [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions] Central Council, stressed this call to represent a telling expression of the importance the Romanian president attaches to the international T.U. movement in solving the great problems of the contemporary world. [sentence as received]

Next, the floor was taken by Gaspar Sandor, chairman of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, president of the World Federation of Trade Unions, J.M. Bokamba-Yangouma, secretary of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation, and Chaturanan Mishra, member of the Indian parliament, president of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

The guests expressed the high appreciation enjoyed by the Romanian foreign policy on an international plane.

During the meeting President Nicolae Ceausescu made an address.

Session Concludes

AU311933 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/10/1987—The 40th session ofthe General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions concluded in Bucharest on October 31.

During the three-day debates representatives of many trade unions in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Arab countries took the floor. A survey was made of the ways in which trade unions can more actively participate in the fight for safeguarding the working people's fundamental rights and liberties, as well as in strengthening the solidarity and unity of the international trade unions movement mobilizing it to the efforts for the building of peace and disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost, for the elimination of war from peoples' life, for the guaranteeing of all nations' right to independence and sovereignty, the promotion of a new policy of collaboration and understanding, the liquidation of underdevelopment and an equitable solution to the external debt problem, the building of a new world economic order.

On the last day of the debates the participants adopted a series of documents among which: a call on working people and trade unions all over the world to intensify their efforts in the fight for peace and disarmament, and a resolution on external debts and development, economic security and a new world economic order, which make up a synthesis of the debates' conclusions and the guidelines of the future activity of the trade unions affiliated to the federation. At the same time, they underscore the close unity of the trade unions within the

WFTU, and the possibility to develop cooperative relations with other regional and international trade union organizations in the fight for a better and more just world, for the ensurance of working people's fundamental right to work and life, to a free and dignified existence, to peace.

In conclusion, the WFTU general secretary, Ibrahim Zakaria [as received], warmly thanked, on behalf of the participants in the session, for the fine conditions provided to them during the proceedings, and for the warm hospitality they were extended in Romania.

Sirbu Meets Tanzanian President Mwinya

AU301705 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1606 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Dar Es Salaam, AGERPRES, 30/10/1987—The president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinya received Ion Sirbu, member of the CC of the RCP, RCP representative to the Third Congress of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania. The president of that party, Julius K. Nyerere, and its vice-chairman Ali Hassan Mwinya were conveyed a warm friendly salute from RCP General Secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu as well as best wishes of good health and happiness, of success in their activity for the country's development on the socialist road chosen by the party and people.

Thanking, the Tanzanian president requested that the RCP and Romanian state leader be conveyed warm and friendly greetings on behalf of the chairman of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania and on his own behalf as well as cordial wishes of health, of progress and welfare to the Romanian people.

During the interview, questions were approached related to the collaboration between the two parties and countries.

Ceausescu Receives U.S. 'Joint' Delegation

AU302033 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2015 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/10/1987—On 30 October President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received a delegation of the Joint Organization [as received] of the USA, consisting of Heinz Eppler, president, Ralph Goldman, vice-president, and Sylvia Hassenfeld, member of the Executive Committee, as well as Moses Rosen, president of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania.

On the occasion talks proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

Ion Cumpanasu, chairman of the Department of Religious Denominations participated.

Ceausescu Cables Oliver Tambo on Birthday

AU290859 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Oct 87 p 3

[Cable sent by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Oliver Tambo, chairman of the African National Congress of South Africa on his 70th birthday]

[Text] On your 70th birthday, I take particular pleasure in extending warmest congratulations to you, as well as wishes for good health and success in your struggle and work to ensure the triumph of the legitimate aspirations for freedom and independence, for the elimination of the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa, and for peace and international cooperation.

I want to reaffirm the conviction that the relations of cooperation and solidarity between the RCP and the African National Congress will develop continuously to our mutual benefit and in the interest of the cause of peace and progress in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general.

Ceausescu Receives Sri Lanka CP Chief Silva

AU302035 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2010 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/10/1987—On October 30, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu received K.P. Silva, general secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP. The guest warmly thanked for the invitation to visit Romania, expressing his full satisfaction at having been received by the RCP and Romanian state leader and exchanging opinions with him.

During the interview, reference was made to the relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the RCP and the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, and emphasis was placed upon the common wish to act for their further expansion and strengthening.

International issues were also approached.

Stress was laid on the necessity, in the current international conditions, to strengthen the unity of action of all communist and workers' parties, of democratic and anti-imperialist progressive forces everywhere for the promotion of a new policy of detente, security and understanding, of peace and collaboration all over the world.

Political Executive Committee Holds Meeting

Ceausescu Chairs Meeting

AU302031 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2028 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/10/1987—RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP on October 30.

The meeting debated first the measures for the fulfillment of the economic plan in the last two months of the year and the preparations for the implementation of the country's socioeconomic development plan for 1988 as well as other economic questions.

The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was highly appreciative of the results of the official visits of friendship to Romania by the President of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, U San Yu, and the general secretary of the CC of the SUPG, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker.

Discusses Honecker's Visit

AU311639 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0925 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/10/1987—During a meeting of the Executive Political Committee chaired over by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu on 30 October, a report was read on the official visit of friendship paid to Romania by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the SUPG, president of the Council of State of the GDR, over 28-29 October.

The Executive Political Committee appreciated with satisfaction the fruitful results of the visit and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and in the evolution of the good relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples. Stressed was also on this occasion the essential role played by the traditional friendly dialogue between the two party and state heads for the wide promotion and continuous strengthening of the multilateral collaboration between the RCP and the SUPG, between Romania and GDR, in the interest and to the benefit of both peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

The Executive Political Committee appreciated highly the joint conclusions and the understandings reached during the new summit interview, which open the prospects of a still stronger development of the bilateral collaboration in all the spheres of activity and ensure the promotion of the collaboration between Romania and the GDR to a superior plane. In this respect highlighted was the importance of the measures established for a further expansion of the collaboration and specialization in production in basic economic branches, for the intensification of cooperation in science and technology as well as in other sectors of joint interest.

The Executive Political Committee also underscored the profound significance of the exchanges of views between Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker regarding the international situation, which set forth the identity or great closeness of viewpoints of all the issues approached.

Highlighted was the importance of the two party and state leaders' joint considerations regarding the need for efforts to be intensified with a view to halting the arms race and passing on to concrete disarmament measures, nuclear disarmament in the first place. In this respect highly appreciated was the appeal Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker made to the people in Europe and all over the world to support the signing of the accord between the Soviet Union and the USA regarding the elimination of the intermediate-range and operative-tactical missiles from Europe and Asia, and to do everything for a complete eradication of nuclear arms from our planet.

The Executive Political Committee singled out the importance of the resolve, reasserted by the two party and state leaders during talks, to strengthen the collaboration between Romania and the GDR in the world arena, to contribute actively, by the side of the other socialist countries and peace- and progress-loving forces, to finding constructive solutions to the grave and complex problems confronting mankind, to the assertion of the policy of disarmament, to the setting in of a climate of detente, security, confidence and (?many-sided) collaboration in Europe and all over the world, to implementing the ideals of freedom, independence and progress nurtured by all the nations.

The Executive Political Committee approved unanimously the results of the visit and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker and asked that due measures be taken and work be done for the best implementation of the things agreed upon, of the targets set in point of further developing the multilateral collaboration and cooperation between the two countries and peoples.

Discusses Burmese President's Visit

AU311637 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0915 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 31/10/1987—An account of the official visit of friendship the president of the Socialist Union of Burma, U San Yu, paid to Romania over October 23-27 was presented during a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP held under the chairmanship of the party's general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu on October 30.

The Executive Political Committee was highly appreciative of the results of the new Romanian-Burmese top-level meeting that goes down as an important contribution to continuously strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries and peoples.

The Executive Political Committee highlighted with satisfaction President Nicolae Ceausescu's and President U San Yu's mutual wish expressed during the talks, to further expand collaboration between the two countries in domains of mutual interest.

The Executive Political Committee stressed the significance of the exchange of opinions the two presidents made on the present international situation. Highlighted was also in this connection Romania's and Burma's decision to actively support in future too the efforts and actions taken for disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, the settlement of all litigious issues only by peaceful means, by negotiations, and firmly promote the principles of fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of force and threat of force.

Also pointed out was that the top-level meeting focused on the two countries' concern for the global settlement of underdevelopment issues—of the exceedingly high foreign debts that make a burden for the developing countries—and the building of a new international economics order that would ensure the more rapid progress of all states, specially of the lagging ones.

Fully approving of the result of the visit, the Executive Political Committee called for measures to be taken for the fulfillment, in good conditions, of the understandings agreed upon for further expanding collaboration between Romania and Burma.

Examines Economic Issues

AU311625 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/10/1987—A meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP took place on Friday, October 30, under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP.

Attending were also government members, executives of economy, first secretaries and secretaries for agriculture of the county party committees, directors-general of industrial departments and central research institutes.

The Executive Political Committee analyzed the measures for the integral fulfillment of the plan for November and December, the fourth quarter and the whole year of 1987, as well as for the preparation of the fulfillment of the 1988 plan provisions.

Likewise, the analysis covered the report on the fulfillment of the tasks of the autumn farming campaign and the realization of the state stock with the plant and animal production as well as the report on the steps taken for the capitalization of the stocks in excess. Debated were also the programme of intensification of the activity of reusables collecting and capitalization for 1988 and the program of intensification of spare part and subassembly mending.

Members of the government and first secretaries of the county party committees presented accounts in connection with all these questions.

Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor in concluding the debates on these items.

He assessed that the results with the industrial production for the ten months elapsed of this year, although better than in the similar period of last year, were not satisfactory. The party's general secretary pointed out that the failures in plan fulfillment were mostly determined by the shortcomings manifest in the activity of some ministries, departments and enterprises, of county party committees and county people's councils, and requested resolute measures for the undelayed liquidation of the shortcomings and the radical improvement of the whole activity, for coping with the arrears and fulfilling in the best of conditions the plan provisions for November and December, for the whole fourth quarter with export, with the other indices, for the adequate preparation of next year's production.

Referring to the whole activity to be unfolded in this quarter of the year, both in industry and agriculture, the party's general secretary stressed that the Romanian economy had a good material base, every condition for the integral fulfillment of the plan provisions. The fundamental issue now is a good labour organization, the fulfillment of the programs of production and technology modernization, the strengthening of order and discipline in every compartment, he stressed.

The Executive Political Committee unanimously endorsed the conclusions and orientations set at the meeting in connection with these problems by party's General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

Grand National Assembly Session Opens

Ceausescu Present

AU300827 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0814 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/10/1987—The sixth session of the ninth term of the Grand National Assembly (Romania's Parliament) opened in Bucharest, in the morning of October 30, in the presence of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania.

The deputies to the country's supreme legislative forum will debate drafts of important normative acts with economic character.

More on Session

AU301142 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] The proceedings of the sixth session of the ninth legislature of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] opened in Bucharest today.

The arrival of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu in the Parliament Hall was welcomed with applause by the deputies and guests.

The GNA adopted the following agenda:

1. Draft Bill on the Uniform National Plan for the Socioeconomic Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1988;

2. Draft Bill on the Development Plan of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry, and Water Administration of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1988;

3. Draft Bill on the State Budget of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1988;

4. Program for Self-Management and Self-Sufficiency To Ensure Proper Supplies of Agricultural Produce, Foodstuffs, and Industrial Consumer Goods for the People in 1988;

5. Draft Bill on the Economic and Social Relationships Between Socialist Units and on the Conclusion and Execution of Economic Contracts;

6. Draft Bill on Setting up the Supreme Council for Romania's Socioeconomic Development whose role it is to formulate long-term guidelines and the uniform national plans for the country's socioeconomic development;

7. Draft Bill on the Conservation, Preservation, and Development of Forests and their Rational and Economical Exploitation and on Maintaining an Ecological Balance; and

8. Draft bills on the approval of decrees including norms with power of law issued by the State Council.

During today's meeting, the GNA unanimously adopted the Law on the Conservation, Preservation, and Development of Forests and their Rational and Economical Exploitation, and on Maintaining an Ecological Balance.

The other points on the agenda will be discussed when the current session is resumed.

Defense Minister's Order of Day on Army Day

AU281205 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Oct 87 p 4

["Order of Day of the Minister of National Defense on the Army Day of the SR of Romania" issued on 25 October]

[Text] On 25 October we celebrate the Army Day of the SR of Romania in an atmosphere of strong engagement, powerful creative elan, and ardent patriotism, in which all our people work to unflinchingly implement the documents, ideas, and guidelines included in the speech delivered by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the recent RCP Central Committee plenum. We are also preparing for the party National Conference and the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic with outstanding successes in the implementation of the historical decisions of the 13th RCP Congress.

On this traditional holiday, in complete unity of thought and determination with all the working people in our homeland, the soldiers of our country unanimously express their warmest feelings of gratitude and profound appreciation for our glorious Communist Party and for its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved son of our nation, the brilliant founder of the modern Socialist Romania, hero among heroes of our nation, clear-sighted and wise leader of the destiny of Romanian nation, and prominent personality of the international political life.

Likewise, the sons of the homeland who are fulfilling their duty under the tricolor, convey their most respectful feelings of esteem and profound gratitude to Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, first ranking militant of our party and state and scientist of world renown, for the outstanding contribution she makes to the fulfillment of the great programs of the country's socioeconomic development and to the development of Romanian education, culture, and science.

On 25 October, we celebrate Army Day, an event that is inscribed in the history of our people as the day when, 43 years ago, the last furrow of Romanian soil was liberated from the occupation of the Hitlerite-Horthyst troops. This is an event that gives us an opportunity to glorify our forefathers' traditions in the multi-millenia struggle to defend the homeland and to make the ideals of independence and national unity triumph. At the same time, this event is an enthusiastic manifestation in which the party and the nation show their appreciation for the soldiers of the country.

We will always remember the heroic battles of the communist militants, antifascist fighters, soldiers, and all those who took bold actions and fought with an exemplary spirit of sacrifice during the antifascist and

anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in August 1944, a milestone in Romanian history, which opened up the path toward the fulfillment of our nation's ideals of freedom, progress, and well-being.

With deep gratitude we venerate the heroic and legendary deeds of the Romanian soldiers in the fierce battles waged, shoulder to shoulder, with the Soviet soldiers, to achieve the complete liberation of our homeland, and further to liberate Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and a part of Austria, up to the final victory over Nazi Germany.

Bold continuer of the ancient virtues, transmitted from generation to generation over the centuries, today, our army is proud of its noble mission to protect our homeland during the most luminous period in the multimillenia history of the Romanian people, inaugurated by the 13th RCP Congress, a period that is identified forever by our nation as the Nicolae Ceausescu Era.

On this festive occasion, the Romanian Army highly honor the homeland, the party, and its supreme commander, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and proudly reports on the good results it obtained in fulfilling the plan of combat and political training and in serving the great cause of ensuring the flourishing and defense of Socialist Romania.

Comrade soldiers, enlisted men, warrant officers, noncomissioned officers, officers, and generals,

Confident in the bright future of our homeland, skillfully presented in the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania and ensuring the country's progress toward communism, fully devote your energy and knowledge and all your creative ability to ensuring the fulfillment—at a high quality level—of the tasks incumbent on the army under the 13th RCP Congress decisions and of the objectives set forth by our supreme commander in the speech delivered at the meeting of the army party aktiv held in December 1985.

In the spirit of the national military doctrine, whose illustrious founder is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, work firmly to fulfill the provisions of the supreme commander's guidelines on ensuring the appropriate combat and political training of the army in the 1986-90 period, on raising the military skill of the troops, and on creating thoroughly trained fighters who are ready to exemplarily carry out the mission bestowed upon them.

Under the leadership and in accordance with the recommendations of the party bodies and organization, militate with determination and revolutionary elan to ensure an ever stronger assertion of the army as the high school of political, educational, and cultural training of the young generation, to continuously strengthen order, discipline, and vigilance, and make a greater contribution by the soldiers to building the great socioeconomic objectives and developing the homeland.

Concentrate all your activity on increasing the combat capability of the smaller and large units, so that, at the call of the homeland or upon the supreme commander's orders, the army together with all the other forces of our national defense system, and with the whole nations is ready at all times to firmly defend the freedom, independence, sovereignity, and territorial integrity of our dear homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania!

Long live the RCP, headed by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu!

Long live our free and and independent homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania!

Long live the Army of the Socialist Romania!

Minister of National Defense Colonel-General Vasile Milea.

Suvar Recalls October Revolution Events

LD311109 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT30 Oct 87

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—The October Revolution 70 years ago marked the turning of a new page in the history of mankind. The momentous role, instigatory importance, and lasting inspirational significance of the October Revolution are recognized today and will continue to be recognized tomorrow by all progressive forces in the world. We in Yugoslavia are also bound to emphasize that the Russian Great October inspired our workers' and socialist movement as well, Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said at this evening's formal assembly to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The October Revolution itself did not break out as something unexpected and as something simply in Russian history and Russian conditions. It marked a victory in the path of the visions and experiences of the workers' and socialist movement in Europe and the world, at a point where the "subjective factor" knew how to and was able to awaken the revolutionary energies of the workers and peasantry and direct them toward a revolutionary settling of accounts with the then ruling classes of capitalists and landowners.

Stipe Suvar spoke at length in a very exhaustive address about the conditions in Russia following the October Revolution and the hard struggle of Lenin and the Bolsheviks for its preservation at a time of international blockade.

Speaking about the different economic theories in the USSR, Suvar assessed that throughout the entire preceding period socialism has been seen there both in theory and in ideology as a lower phase of communism. In the sixties, at a time of moderate de-Stalinization in political life, and in the sense of condemnation of the so-called personality cult and its crudest manifestations and consequences, but without more profound changes in the economic and political system, they even overlooked the planned calendar date by which the material and technical bases for communism would be "constructed." This was admittedly later seen as a construction of voluntaristic arbitrariness.

Right up until the most recent times in Soviet literature and elsewhere, much has been written, however, about real and developed socialism, and this was and is fairly far from Marx and Marxist political economics. In the new edition of the CPSU program, Suvar recalled, it is said that the USSR "has embarked on the stage of developed socialism" and right at the end the program states that the "Soviet people have constructed socialism."

However, the current "restructuring," which is seeking "the all-round improvement of socialism," is evidence of the fact that ways are in fact being sought to decentralize more resolutely social reproduction, without which socialism can no longer develop with great success its own production forces and new social relations and overcome the still-present inferiority in comparison with the world production of goods on capitalist bases.

We are witnesses today, Suvar said, of encouraging initiatives in the area of both economic development and social relations, aimed at the more profound socialist democratization of Soviet society. The proclamation of the CPSU Central Committee on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution states that the aim of "restructuring" is to speed up the progress of socialist society, to mobilize for fundamental reforms and bold measures, and to consolidate more firmly in the life of the Soviet party and country the revolutionary spirit of Lenin.

In this context in the Soviet Union itself, judging by everything, there has been an initiative for a very critical analysis of the "blank spots" of socialism, not only in Stalin's time but also later, which is in our opinion one of the essential prerequisites for "perestroyka" [restructuring] to yield far-reaching changes in the socialist development. We Yugoslav Communists and all the people in our country to whom the cause of socialism is truly dear welcome the present efforts for a speedier development and enrichment of socialism in the October homeland, which can be very important for the development of socialism in the whole world and in the struggle for peace and security of mankind.

Speaking about the influence of October on revolutionary events in our country, Suvar noted that the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia won through in the wake of October, giving its own considerable and far-reaching contribution to the expansion and achievements of socialism in the world. Our revolution testified in the best way that there are no uniform methods of revolutionary struggle and once and for all solutions in the struggle for socialism and in the socialist practice itself.

Heading the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [CPY], Tito revealed himself as a true Leninist, while at the same time it is he who serves most credit for the fact that the CPY was the first among the communist parties in the world to oppose the Stalinist theory and practice of domination, control and repression, and the first, after Lenin's time and during the first years of the Soviet power, to restore dignity to socialist democracy and pave the way for the development of socialism.

The Yugoslav socialist revolution was also the first to reaffirm itself, in the wake of Lenin's diagnosis that every country would have its own way to socialism, as well as a need for and right to independent revolutionary transformation. Within this context it naturally advocates true internationalism, which is proven, and which reaffirms itself first and foremost through a revolutionary act and socialist achievements on the spot, and not through obedience to some kind of world center of

revolutionary struggle that issues rules for the course of the revolution and guidelines for the development of socialism. How many unjustified attacks and difficult trials did our revolution experience, Suvar recalled, before this right to its own way and to the independence of every revolution became a general gain, today insisted upon even in the Soviet Union.

Likewise, it turned out that the nonaligned policy, in which Yugoslavia plays one of the most important roles, is not detrimental, but on the contrary, beneficial to socialism in the world, and that it is not the negation but the affirmation of internationalism.

Continuing his speech, Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke about socialism as a world process, recalling that today almost one-third of mankind lives in countries which have proclaimed socialism as a basis and aim of their system and development. This fact, proceeding from the truth that socialism at the beginning of this century was only an idea and a program, substantially determines the present time, as well as prospects for the modern world.

This mass performance of socialist desires and practice on the world history stage has reaffirmed, Suvar said, the basic conclusion of Marx's theory of elaboration and also Lenin's thoughts on the historic restriction of capitalism and possibilities of its abolition through the development of socialist process.

The political liquidation of capital in more than 20 or 30 or so countries on the 4 continents is an obvious fact today, but no less important is the fact that some elements of socialism are built into the social system of developed capitalist countries, representing the elements of its breakthrough.

From the historic viewpoint, the capital basis of the modern era was called into question and the historic restriction of capitalism has never been so clearly manifested as today, on the threshold of 21st century, and it has never been more obvious—to everyone whose thoughts are not burdened with bourgeois ideology and who cares about the future—that the reality which was and is produced by reason guided and established by capital is contrary to the reason itself.

Socialism, such as it is with all its contradictions, weaknesses, incompleteness and serious deformations, is still a well-elaborated and organized historic reality in which the majority of mankind believes.

Socialism, Suvar recalled, has experienced many failures in its, so to speak, childhood stage: it failed a test here or there, even many specific ones, mainly because, on the one hand, it did not hold on to its own requirements and principles, and on the other, it did not recognize the objective circumstances and conditions of its own development sufficiently and in the right way. However, it is an encouraging fact that socialism has really started to learn from its own mistakes, which is beginning to show today.

The communist vanguard and the organized socialist forces fail the test of real struggle for socialist ideals and aims whenever and if they forget Lenin's thought to the effect that "the basic problem of every revolution is the problem of power in the state." To neglect this problem would mean to renounce the movement and its momentous tasks. Unfortunately, Suvar said, in the history of socialism to date a so-called subjective factor failed the test for this very reason, to a greater or a lesser degree, depending on a socialist country, but it failed nonetheless in all of them.

Dwelling in detail on the role of the state in socialism, Suvar noted that the crisis of socialism has most frequently occurred because socialism identified itself too much with the expansion of state power.

It is maybe precisely at the present-day juncture, Suvar added, that by all accounts in the majority of socialist countries a period of transition is being ushered in, equally important as the one signified at the beginning by October.

This is a reference to the fierce conflict between two tendencies: a technobureaucratic one which wants to extend socialism by increasing the power of the state, and another one which sees the role of socialist tendencies in the world as a leading one in the struggle for peace and democracy in work and know-how. There is much to favor the assertion that the latter is today acquiring or will gain ascendancy.

Socialism, Suvar said, cannot be reduced to some more or less homogenous and disciplined "world socialist system" or to "a socialist community" and with it "a socialist orientated country," or to this or that bloc monolith. Likewise, "the international workers' movement cannot be conceived of as some sort of uniform organism, even if this were possible at the time of Marx and the First International and Lenin and the Third International." The forces of socialism do not consist solely of approximately 100 million Communists in the world, but of the aspirations of billions of people all over the globe to fight for the dignified life, social progress, and lasting peace.

The revision of the socialist idea is also contained in the shortening of the period in which the goals of socialism are to be accomplished, by wanting to complete it right at its very inception. An example of the failure to comprehend the epoch in which socialism begins as a process was, for example, the Stalinist proclamation of communism in the 1936 Constitution. Other such examples are

the stage-managed militancy of the Cultural Revolution in China, in which poverty was raised to the pedestal of the final goal, and Pol Pot's communism led to massacre in Cambodia.

Both tendencies, both that of the territorialization of socialism and the institutionalization of the workers' movement and that of the temporal reduction of socialism, are certainly present in our country as well. Together, Suvar said, they led to the crisis of socialist self-management.

The preservation of the alliance between our LC and statism and the tendency to turn it into a party of the movement, instead of confirming it as a league of the workers' movement, is leading it here and today to the brink of real conflict with the working class. Historically it is possible in our circumstances and if the process of dissolution in society were to continue for the LC, which still operates as a classical political party in a one-party system, although within a broad front of socialist forces, to lose its vanguard role; and it will do so preceisely by becoming increasingly a slave to particularist, statist and false national interests. It could finally happen that it disintegrates into several de facto parties, in accordance with the logic of statist-nationalist isolation in Yugoslavia.

The only defenses agains such a historical regression could be the separation of the LCY from statism and at the same time the overcoming of decentralized bureaucratism and the self-managing integration of producers, who will appear as commodity producers on a unified Yugoslav market, while this market is kept open toward the world market. No kind of economic policy in the conditions of the growing economic crisis has any chance of ensuring changes, so long as social power is divided and concentrated in the present way.

Speaking about world and domestic conditions in the development of socialism, Suvar stressed that "closed" instead of "open" socialism in economics lead to state and party control of ideas, culture, science, freedom, creativity, the freedom of speech, writing, travel across state borders and not seldom within them as well. Many restrictions and even unnecessary measures of repression came about in this way and still come about. The forces of socialism must today take account of all this, if they want not only to eradicate phenomena of conservatism, stagnation and regression on the ground of socialism, which today are more in evidence than yesterday, but also ensure it much greater new achievements much greater affirmation, and the prospect of a true human alternative.

May the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution serve as a motive for fresh thinking and new zeal for the purpose of the largest, most specific and historically possible realization of fundamental socialist ideals, Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said.

Official Says Kosovo Unrest Increasing

LD310743 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2200 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Brezovica, October 30 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency has sent the special police force of the Federal Interior Secretariat to Kosovo because of a latent threat to the security of this autonomous province from intensified activities by (ethnic) Albanian chauvinists and separatists and protest meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins, Kosovo party leader Azem Vlasi told a group of foreign journalists in Pristina today.

Vlasi said that the attacks of Albanian chauvinists and separatists aimed at causing disturbances and the feeling of insecurity among Serbs and Montenegrins and inciting their migration from Kosovo have grown frequent in recent months. He noted that the continuing migration of Serbs and Montenegrins upsets the centuries' old multinational structure of Kosovo and is fraught with major and far-reaching consequences.

Vlasi said that 1,019 persons were convicted on charges of acting from the positions of Albanian chauvinism and separatism over the period from 1981, when the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo started, to 1986. Half of the convicted have served their sentences, but the correctional measures in jails had no effect on a large number of them and they continued to act from these positions, he added.

Vlasi said that the situation in Kosovo has not been normalized due above all to opportunism in the province, but added that the ideological differentiation is also being aggravated by the anti-Albanian feeling which contributes to homogenization on national foundations. He assessed the motives and reasons for the protest meetings of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, largely women, as understandable and justified, but warned that their organization and course was conducted by a number of well-known Serbian nationalists who had infiltrated among them.

The Kosovo party official stated that stronger positions for struggle against Albanian chauvinism and separatism had been created in the province now "when influential individuals burdened with responsibility for earlier mistakes and failures" had been removed from the political scene and when new, younger cadres had been brought in. Noting that the old forces still have remnants of their extended hands where a definite policy was being determined or implemented, he said that it was essential to make changes and "bring fresh creative forces" into these (?positions) too.

Asked why it had been left to the LCY Central Committee Presidency to determine the responsibility of former vice-president of the State Presidency Fadil Hodza, Vlasi replied that it was done because the most serious objections to his work concern the period when he was a federal functionary. This did not in any way reflect an

opportunistic attitude [words indistinct] of the Kosovo leadership to avoid this task, he added. Asked whether there were grounds for criminal prosecution of Fadil Hodza, Vlasi replied that according to the evidence so far there were no elements for calling him to account under the law.

"Those who think that events will move so that Kosovo will one day be written off for Yugoslavia are wrong," pointed out Vlasi. This will never happen, because the conscious forces of any people in Europe, and thus also in the Balkans and Yugoslavia, will not allow the cries of war to open over the [words indistinct]," the Kosovo party functionary said.

Novi Sad Students Protest Price Increases

LD011929 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Text] Novi Sad, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—A few hundred students from Novi Sad University gathered today in the open space in front of the Vojvodina sports and business center where they protested the price increases in student canteens and other unresolved student issues.

The immediate reason for the students' action was the introduction of new prices for food and lodging, which came into effect today. This means, for example, that the price of a lunch in student canteens has gone up from 150 dinars to 380 dinars, while the price of accommodation in student hostels has increased to between 6,500 and 10,000 dinars, depending on conditions.

At the demand of the students, Branimir Brkljac, president of the Presidium of the Vojvodina Provincial Youth Conference, explained why the youth leadership had supported the new prices. He pointed out that the self-managing community of interests for students living standards had reached such a position economically that without increasing the prices of food and accomodation it would not have been able to function. The youth presidium, however, had at the same time demanded the introduction of vouchers for food, so that students could eat wherever they wished. Brkljac stated that the problem was not so much in the price increases, since all three meals cost 900 dinars a day, as in the disregarding of the Yugoslav agreement on credit and scholarship levels, which should be coordinated with expenses in places of study. The new price increase affected students from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro most of all, since they received the lowest scholarships and credit. They were also the most numerous participants in today's protest meeting.

Dr Zoran Stojanovic and Dr Dragutin Zelenovic, the previous and the newly elected rectors of Novi Sad University, tried to explain to the students, and later to journalists with whom they had a conversation, that the university and Vojvodina are doing all that they can to make studying easier, particularly for young men and women from other parts of the country. For this reason, for example, as many as 60 percent of the total number of places in hostels are allocated to these students. A new, modern student hostel was recently built in Novi Sad with 360 beds, and the program provides for the opening of a new student restaurant. The figure was also given that since 1981 the contribution to the prices of food and accommodation made by expenditure from students has been continually dropping, amounting to 25 percent today, as compared with 60 percent 6 years ago.

Often interrupting the words of the rectors and the president of Vojvodina youth, the students, unsatisfied with these explanations, demanded that student issues be resolved more quickly "without working groups and commissions," and commented in particular on the quality of food in the student restaurants.

The students dispersed after receiving the promise that their demands would be considered as early as tomorrow by the executive committee of the self-managing community of interests for students living standards, and that a final decision could be made by the assembly on Tuesday. After the session of the Assembly for Students' Living Standards, the students will be informed of the outcome in the Student Square on the university grounds.

Meeting on Albanians Held in U.S. Congress

LD010512 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1321 GMT 31 Oct 87

["Anti-Yugoslav Meeting in U.S. Congress"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Washington, October 31 (TANJUG)—The latest attack by the hostile Albanian emigration on Yugoslavia was staged in the U.S. Congress.

The meeting, organized by an informal human rights body in the U.S. Congress, was devoted to the position of Albanians in Yugoslavia. Many half-truths and fabrications about the actual situation in Yugoslavia were heard at the meeting. The prejudiced and unfounded accusations are not surprising in view of the fact that representatives of hostile Albanian and other anti-Yugoslav emigre groups and of Amnesty International were among the participants of the meeting.

As result of fabrications similar to the one stating that although Yugoslavs persecute other ethnic groups, it is believed that Albanians have the worst treatment, a call was made for the abolishment of Yugoslavia's most-favored nation status in trade with the U.S.

Congressman Joseph Dioguardi, an American of Italian-Albanian descent, was the most prominent speaker in the discussion. Presidential candidates for next year's elections, Republican Robert Dole and Democratic candidate Paul Simon, upheld his discussion in written form and showed total ignorance of the problem which is not to be expected from people who hope to be elected to the post of President.

The best rebuttal of the unfounded accusations against Yugoslavia was made by Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Richard Schifter who stated his case before the formal opening of the meeting and then left. He stressed that Yugoslavia is the only state on the Balkans that provides autonomy for its ethnic minorities and that Albanians in Yugoslavia enjoy equal rights as other citizens. He also reminded those gathered that last year and this year as well, the president of Yugoslavia was an Albanian.

Noting that Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo are demanding secession from Yugoslavia, Schifter stressed that the U.S. Government supports the preservation of Yugoslavia's independence, unity and territorial integrity. All those who support the well-being of peoples in Yugoslavia should act wisely and honestly while the peoples of Yugoslavia are engaged on solving their problems, the U.S. official stated.

Senior Kosovo Leaders Expelled From LCY

LD310330 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0120 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Pristina, October 30 (TANJUG)—Party organizations in Pristina, capital of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, this evening expelled from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia six former senior provincial officials—Dzavid Nimani, Dzevdet Hamza, Imer Pulja, Ismailj Bajra, Dusan Ristic and Sefedin Batali.

The decision was based on the proposals recently made by the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, which found that the six former leading officials had contributed to the escalation of Albanian chauvinism and separatism in 1981, when the demand was put up to proclaim Kosovo a republic which would later be split from Yugoslavia and joined to neighbouring Albania.

An explanation issued by the provincial committee says, among other things, that Nimani had an important role in the province and the predominant influence on its cadre policy even before 1981. He contributed to creating the kind of climate and relations in the province which had led to chauvinist and separatist escalation in 1981, when he was president of the presidency of Kosovo.

Dzevdet Hamza, as a longstanding provincial official, was among the first to oppose the objective and correct assessment of the counter-revolutionary events in the province, which is part of the Republic of Serbia.

All six former officials participated in tonight's meetings of their party organizations, but tried to deny the assessments of their activity and decline any responsibility. Nimani did it in a written statement which said that he was unable to attend the meeting of his party organization due to illness.

Serb Officials Summoned Over Kosovo Unrest

AU312153 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 87 p 11

[TANJUG report]

[Excerpts] Fadilj Hodza's conduct at the luncheon in Prizren after last year's military exercise held in Crnojevo is unacceptable. He deserved condemnation for his words on that occasion both as a reserve officer and as a communist. This was said at yesterday's session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of Reserve Officers of Serbia. [passage omitted]

Concluding the discussion about the official minutes on Fadilj Hodza's statement, Milivoje Stankovic, president of the Republican Conference of Reserve Officers of Serbia, stressed that one must resolutely check opportunism in the ranks of reserve officers, both in Yugoslavia, and in Serbia and the provinces, and that all the members of this organization who have erred must be called to account.

In this connection, Mirko Djokic's proposal was adopted to the effect that Tihomir Vlaskalic, for many years president of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia; Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the republican Presidency at the time of the counterrevolution; and Rajko Jecmenica, at that time member of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia and later president of the Commission Controlling the Work of the State Security Service of Yugoslavia, be summoned to the Court of Honor of the Reserve Officers of Serbia because of their inactivity in leading positions during the preparations for and the outbreak of the counterrevolution in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

SFRY Official on Albanian, Serbian Unrest

LD302117 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Azem Vlasi, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, stressed in today's meeting with foreign correspondents that hostile activity stemming from Albanian nationalism had recently been widespread, manifesting itself in attacks on Serbians and Montenegrins.

This was the cause of gatherings and demonstrations among some Serbs and Montenegrins. A number of well-known Serbian nationalists closely linked to Serbian nationalists near Kosovo, especially in Belgrade, have taken advantage of these opportunities and involved themselves in the incidents.

In conditions of current Albanian nationalism, there is a latent danger of more serious disturbances of public peace and order with more serious consequences. The exclusive involvement of forces in the province is quite delicate in such a case. This is at the same time the explanation of the decision of the SFRY Presidency to send to Kosovo a small police unit of the Federal

Secretariat for Internal Affairs, as a result of the joint assessment of the situation, stressed Vlasi in the conversation with foreign correspondents.

Zagreb Sentences Two for 'Hostile Activity'

LD010346 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Zagreb, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—Josip Kralj, 36, and Ivan Milec, 29, both from the village of Jesenovac near Sesvete, not far from Zagreb, were sentenced today for hostile activity against the social system: Kralj to 6 and 1/2 years and Milec to 3 years' imprisonment.

Over the last 3 days, both were interrogated in detail, and in the process confessed to the allegations made in the accusation before the bench of five in the Zagreb District Court, presided over by Ivan Protkovic. They brought into the country from the FRG "terrorist devices" for the purpose of perpetrating terror. Also, from their village and nearby, they recruited similar people and persuaded them to perpetrate terrorism. They obtained terrorist literature from well known Ustashi emigre terrorists in the FRG, with whom they were in contact several times. In the material evidence, among other things, was an explosive for large-scale acts of sabotage.

Serbian LC Supports Constitution Changes

LD010124 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 29 Oct 87

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—The proposed changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia are the result of the consistent and principled policy of the Serbian LC and its attempt to make the work on constitutional changes reflect reality to find solutions conducive to progressive changes in our present-day situation. Our ambition does not stop at resolving current difficulties; the changes in the Constitution are expected to open up prospects for the republic's socialist and democratic development on the basis of self-management as outlined in our fundamental commitments. This was stressed today by Radmila Andjelkovic in an introductory report at a session of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee which met to discuss the proposal by the Presidency of the SR of Serbia to embark on changing the republic's Constitution.

Stressing that the work on the constitutional changes has been a prolonged process which, in view of the complexity of the task, is to be expected, Radmila Andjelkovic noted that the Serbian LC was among the first to advocate possible changes in the political system, explaining its attitude by the need for a self-managing, economically efficient, politically democratic and legally stable and open society. The implications of these changes are inseparable from those of the proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution. [passage omitted]

When we say we favor a stronger Yugoslavia, we imply a Yugoslavia in the interest of all of its nations and nationalities, their equality, brotherhood, and unity—a Yugoslavia of benefit to all its republics and provinces and a federation capable of performing its constitutional functions in a legitimate, sovereign, and professional manner. In other words, we favor a system of relations in the federation based on unified production relations and unified market. This does not imply nor have anything to do with the tatist centralization advocated by conservative and dogmatic minds.

The most serious and complex tasks facing both the republic and the socialist autonomous provinces within it, Radmila Andjelkovic pointed out, will be to enhance unity and togetherness. It is our common goal to see Serbia's constitutional position as a state and a socialist self-managing democratic community and that of the provinces as autonomous socialist, self-managing, and democratic sociopolitical communities within the SR of Serbia and as constitutive elements of Yugoslav federalism fully and consistently implemented.

Calling for outstanding controversial issues to be resolved in line with the LC's principles, in other words, in accordance with the system of Yugoslav federalism, to avoid jeopardizing previous work on amending the republic's constitution, Radmila Andjelkovic drew attention to the LC Central Committee's standpoints concerning the unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia. In her view they are welcomed as a sign of the LC's strength and ability to provide convincing answers to the complex problems that for a long time have been straining relations in Serbia. We must explain in a well-argued, and, above all, clear and convincing, manner that the proposed changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia in no way affect the identity of the provinces as constitutive elements of the entire system of Yugoslav federalism. Not a single proposed amendment questions the autonomy of the provinces or the rights of the working people in them freely to dispose of income they generate. [passage omitted]

One of the main messages of the brief discussion that followed the introductory report was accentuated by the first participant, Ilija Davidovic, who said that the proposals by the Presidency of the SR of Serbia contained elements that could neither reduce the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the provinces nor entrust the republic with functions which it, as a state, should not perform. Davidovic also warned that at the present stage in the work on constitutional changes, the views of neither the Presidium of the Serbian Central Committee nor other organs should be so binding as not to leave scope for differing views during the coming public debate. In view of this, the fact that the party Presidium has given its unanimous support to the initiative to begin with the changes is all the more important. [passage omitted]

We in Voojvodina are of the view that the proposals for changes are in accordance with the LC's platform and, by implication, with our fundamental ideopolitical orientations, Djordje Stojsic said. There are certain differences

in our view of the proposal of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, particularly, regarding the provisions for common functions. Still, I am convinced, he continued, that these problems and differences can be overcome, provided additional efforts are made by the constitutional commissions. If we all present our well-argued points I am convinced that the differences will be overcome and we shall be able to come before the Serbian assembly with a coordinated initiative to embark on the changes.

In view of the fact that the proposed changes to the constitution are, in principle, in line with the LC's platform, Slobodan Milosevic said, bringing the discussion to an end, the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee gives it its full support. We face a very difficult task that has to be carried out openly and—may I say—by plebiscite, as the issues at stake cannot be resolved by compromise but by taking into consideration the interests of the working class, the working people, the Serbian nation, and other nations and nationalities living in the SR of Serbia and their equality. In other words, we must do it in line with the interests of the entire country. [passage omitted]

In our work so far, Milosevic said, a large number of issues have been considered and successfully resolved. Many of the issue that caused confrontation at the initial stages have been resolved.

Nevertheless, said Milosevic, a few very important issues have remained on which work has to go on so that they can be resolved unanimously. From that point of view the proposal must be approved that even before the republican assembly has met even more intensive work must be carried out so that the remaining differences can be eliminated, or at least reduced, and that uniform solutions be finally laid down regarding the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

At the proposal of Zoran Sokolovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, the Presidium today fully endorsed the stands of the Presidium of the LC Central Committee in connection with attacks on prominent personalities of our socialist revolution without proper reason or argument.

The way the question of responsibility was raised in the presidium of the Federation of Serb Reserve Officers regarding Dobrivoje Vidic and Tihomir Vlaskalic, prominent leaders over a period of many years was, was a drastic example of an irresponsible smear against people who devoted their entire life to our socialist revolution. In this connection the session pointed out the commitment of the members of the LC Communists in all environments to work for the full dignity of public statements and public criticism. The process of establishing personal responsibility of individuals, where there are reasons for it, can be done only in a way provided for by the Constitition and legislation and, in the LC, by reference to its statute.

No one can be protected from criticism and responsibility by virtue of the function he holds, but he should not be exposed to slander and subsequently condemned and discredited. Therefore, it was stressed, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia expects the Presidium of the Federation of Serb Reserve Officers critically and self-critically to assess its decision and then take a stance in keeping with the policy and norms of the LC.

Reagan-Gorbachev Summit Announced

AU302143 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Soviet party head Mikhail Gorbachev will pay an official visit to Washington on 7 December of this year, U.S. President Ronald Reagan stated in Washington after a meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister. On that occasion, an agreement will be signed between Washington and Moscow on eliminating medium-range and short-range missiles, and the foundations will be laid for an agreement on reducing the number of strategic missiles, Reagan said.

TANJUG reports that Reagan announced he will pay a return visit to the USSR next year.

More on Visit by Mexico's De La Madrid

'Productive' Talks Held

LD301104 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0143 GMT 30 Oct 87

["Pool" item]

[Text] Mexico City, October 30 (TANJUG)—The views held by Yugoslavia and Mexico on major world problems and processes are highly concurrent, as it was assessed in the talks between visiting Yugoslav State Presidency President Lazar Mojsov and Mexican President Miguel da la Madrid here today.

The very substantive and productive talks between Mojsov and De La Madrid covered the current international situation; with accent on the situation in Latin America, international economic relations, North-South relations, the consequences of the debt crisis and the role of the movement of non-aligned countries.

In the exchanges of views carried out today, the first day of Mojsov's visit to Mexico, the two sides expressed the mutual readiness to invest special efforts along the line of raising the bilateral economic cooperation to the level attained in political relations and understanding.

Mexican President De La Madrid emphasized the importance of the summit of eight Latin American countries to be held in Mexico in November.

Within the exchange of views on the situation in Central America, De La Madrid spoke about the importance of the efforts for an equitable and peaceful solution to the crisis in the region. Mexico is ready, as he set out, further to contribute to the political process for a solution of the problem in the region, in which the movement of nonaligned countries plays an important and positive role, as he specified.

Yugoslav State Presidency President Mojsov assessed that the conclusion of a U.S.-Soviet accord on the scrapping of medium- and shorter-range missiles would mark a new turning point in contemporary history and create conditions for the relaxation of international tensions and the elimination of crises and crisis spots in the world.

Mojsov pointed out the danger of the world's steadily deepening division into the developed north and the underdeveloped south, a division which significantly aggravates the position of developing countries, as he said.

Mojsov underscored the need for strengthening developing countries' international ties and urging more equitable international relations, along with ensuring a speedier development of developing countries.

Mojsov Addresses Parliamentarians

LD310003 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2216 GMT 30 Oct 87

["Pool" item]

[Text] Mexico City, Oct 30 (TANJUG)—Understanding, confidence and cooperation, proceeding from the equality of all states and their inevitable interdependence are and remain to be the only way to settle the debt problem and all other issues burdening peace and security, Yugoslav President Lazar Mojsov said in an address to the Mexican parliament today, the second day of his visit to friendly Mexico.

Yugoslavia and Mexico act on the international scene independently, but with a self-developed feeling for dialogue on an equal footing, so that relations among all members of the international community may take new courses—towards more justice, understanding, security and equality, Mojsov said.

He added that any tendency towards domination is contrary to democracy, to the legitimate right of every country to deal with its own problems and to the principles of independence, equality and dignity of all, as embodied in the U.N. Charter.

In 1961, the nonaligned countries expressed their firm belief that the international community is capable of organizing life without resort to force, Mojsov recalled. A great contribution of Mexico and its distinguished statesmen and diplomats is well known in this respect. It become evident that the great powers are not even capable of implementing a stable and permanent detente between themselves without the participation and contribution of the entire international community, that partial detente is a costly illusion and that only universal detente is a realistic proposition.

Referring to the debt crisis as the "time bomb of the present-day world," Mojsov said that even at the cost of great misery the developing counties would be unable to make up for the outflow of their resources to the industrialized countries through the deformed international trade and monetary system.

Any adjustment failing to provide for faster development and better terms of debt repayment will not help either the creditors or the debtors to overcome the crisis, he said. It is no longer the question of "goodwill on the part of debtors to return what they borrowed, but of their objective inability to do so under existing conditions. To settle the debt crisis it is essential first to engage in a constructive dialogue and them, proceeding from this basis, to launch a joint action of debtors and creditors," Mojsov said.

Superpower Summit Welcomed

LD310631 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0514 GMT 31 Oct 87

["Pool" item]

[Text] Mexico City, October 31 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Mexico welcome the two superpowers summit next December and see in it a meeting of exceptional importance to make possible for the world in general and Europe in particular to remove a nuclear war shadow, Yugoslav Presidency President Lazar Mojsov told his press conference here last night at the close of his visit to Mexico.

On pointing out that the problem of arms race and the indispensability of disarmament were exhaustively considered during his talks with Miguel de la Madrid, president of Mexico, Mojsov underlined that Yugoslavia and Mexico particularly welcome the superpowers intention to before long reach an agreement on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles from Europe.

They particularly welcomed the possibility of coming soon, maybe as early as next year, to terms on reductions in nuclear arsenals in the hands of the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Joint Communique Issued

LD311049 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0920 GMT 31 Oct 87

[Text] Mexico City, October 31 (TANJUG)—The debt problem which is slowing down the development of developing countries should be viewed from a political perspective, taking into account the shared responsibility of creditor and debtor countries, it is emphasised in a

joint communique issued today on the talks between Yugoslav State Presidency President Lazar Mojsov and Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid.

Mojsov and De La Madrid urged the establishment of a more just international economic order, stressing the role of developing countries' in the realization of this goal.

The preservation of peace is the task of all countries in the world, and not the privilege of the big powers, the two countries' leaders stressed. They assessed that the U.S.-Soviet agreement on the elimination of shorter- and medium-range missiles from Europe would consolidate mutual trust, contribute to a relaxation of tensions and strengthen dialogue.

In the joint communique, the two leaders stressed the necessity of expanding non-nuclear zones and Mojsov urged the de-nuclearization of the Balkans and turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and cooperation.

Mojsov and De La Madrid supported the efforts of the Contadora Group for a political solution to the Central American crisis.

Assessing Yugoslav-Mexican relations as developing favourably, the presidents of the two countries said it was necessary to invest efforts for economic cooperation to reach the high level of political cooperation.

Mojsov invited the Mexican president to visit Yugoslavia, which De La Madrid accepted with pleasure.

Mojsov today leaves Mexico for Cuba.

'EXCELSIOR' Interview Cited

LD011017 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian0712 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] Mexico City, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—"The debts of the developing countries are at present the main barrier to their economic development. The developing countries, the debtors, are faced with a reduction of exports and imports, growing foreign debt commitments, the outflow of capital, and significantly reduced possibilities for development and for necessary structural reforms in the economy," Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, has stated.

In an interview to Mexico's *Excelsior* during his visit to Mexico, Mojsov stressed that there are three main directions for resolving the debt problem: a more favorable international economic arrangement, an increase in the flow of financial resources to the debtor countries, and the stabilization efforts of these countries. "Without a solution to this problem there can be no improvement in the position of the developing countries which is posing a threat to overall relations in the world," Mojsov added.

Noting that in recent years, because of its debt commitments, there has been a constant net outflow of capital in Yugoslavia and that this is endangering the economic development of the country and its future regular debt repayments, Mojsov stressed that "Yugoslavia is now facing the commencement of negotiations with its creditors on long-term consolidation of its debt."

"In this way we want to create more favorable conditions for the continuation of economic stabilization, structural reforms and mroe rapid economic growth, and to strengthen the country's ability to carry out its commitments to other countries on more stable bases," said Lazar Mojsov.

Giving his opinion on the stances of Latin America on these issues, the president of the SFRY Presidency stressed that they have been and remain a valuable contribution to the platform of all developing countries in the struggle for a permanent and just solution to the international debt crisis. "There is no difference in our approach and stances from the stances of Latin America," Mojsov concluded in this connection.

President Mojsov expressed the hope that the anticipated Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of their medium- and short-range missiles will soon be concluded, and said that this will be a historical step "in which we see just the beginning of the process of gradual nuclear and general disarmament." "The superpowers assure us that this is their orientation, and if it comes to this, it will create conditions for stable and lasting peace in the world," Lazar Mojsov added. He also noted, however, that "their negotiations and agreement-reaching should not be at the expense of third countries," and that in the search for solutions to international problems "the involvement of the entire international community an all countries is essential." Mojsov said that the present reduction in international tension in the world is facilitating a more active approach to overcoming crisis areas and that to this end "the more determined efforts should be universal and fully involve the United Nations."

Replying to a question on the role and possibilities of the nonaligned, President Mojsov said that the movement and policy of nonalignment have "an irreplaceable role in the building of better and more just relations in the world." "The area of activity of the nonaligned is very broad and encompasses all the most important issues of the international community, such as questions of peace, security, disarmament, crisis spots, international economic problems, and so on," Lazar Mojsov stressed.

Commenting on the changes and reforms in socialism, the president of the SFRY Presidency stressed that "in the USSR resolute steps are being taken at present to overcome the period of stagnation and to reform the economic mechanism." "The policy of 'restructuring' initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev is aimed at significantly changing a number of elements on which Soviet political and economic development has been founded." "The

changes taking place in the People's Republic of China are also very important. This country is turning its back on the negative experiences of the past and is actively seeking and opening up paths for a dynamic and original form of development based on the modernization of society." Mojsov added that Yugoslavia was the first socialist country which genuinely came out in favor of respect for the differing paths in the building of socialism and against the imposition of a "model" of socialist development.

In answer to a question on how he assesses the significance of Latin America in international life, Lazar Mojsov stressed that this role has become increasingly important in recent times. "The Latin American countries are already making an important contribution to the search for modalities in the solution of the debt crisis of the developing countries, for a peaceful solution to disputes between countries and for overcoming all forms of pressures and interventions against the small and middling sovereign countries." "I would particularly like to stress the role of the Latin American countries in the encouraging signs of the revitalization of the United Nations as the most universal democratic international forum," Mojsov added.

The president of the SFRY Presidency expressed the view that "the activity of the Contadora Group and the support group can serve as an example and inspiration in the solution of crises in other areas of the world as well." "Yugoslavia attaches exceptional value to what has been achieved so far, and particularly to the role of Mexico in all the activities of the group hitherto." "We believe that the efforts of the Contadora Group and the support group will be crowned with success in the peaceful outcome of the crisis in Central America," Lazar Mojsov said.

On the importance and scope of relations between Yugoslavia and Mexico, Mojsov stressed among other things that the two countries have "a very long tradition of friendly relations, cooperation and na exceptionally high degree of understanding and similarity of views, despite the physical distance which separates us." "This is why we cooperate very successfully on the international scene and find ourselves together in many important international initiatives. This is how we will, I believe, continue in the future," stressed President Mojsov. "At the bilateral level our cooperation is also successful, although, particularly in the sphere of economic cooperation, it is not at the level of our mutual close political relations." "We must find more areas for economic cooperation and for the more comprehensive development of cultural, scientific-technical and other forms of cooperation, where our interests coincide," Lazar Mojsov said in conclusion in his interview with the Mexican paper *Excelsior*.

Mojsov Briefs Newsmen

LD011024 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0641 GMT

[Text] Mexico City, 31 Oct (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Mexico welcome the summit of the superpowers in December and see it as a meeting of exceptional importance which will enable the world, and Europe in particular, to remove the shadow of nuclear war, stated Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, at a press conference with Mexican and foreign newsmen at the end of his 2-day visit to Mexico which has just been concluded.

Stressing that during his very fruitful and comprehensive talks with President Miguel de la Madrid he had also looked at the problem of the arms race and the need for disarmament, Lazar Mojsov underlined that Yugoslavia and Mexico particularly welcome the intentions of the superpowers to reach agreement shortly on the removal of medium-range missiles from Europe, and especially the possibility indicated for shortly, perhaps next year, reaching an agreement on a 50 percent reduction of their nuclear arsenals.

As for this visit to Mexico, Mojsov assessed it as very successful and as facilitating the further dynamic development of mutual relations on already existing solid foundations.

Solid forms of cooperation exist between Yugoslav work organizations and Mexican companies, Mojsov said. A special example is the mixed Yugoslav-Mexican enterprise, Energomex, which forms part of the Energoinvest system of Sarajevo.

We agreed with President de la Madrid to further strengthen this cooperation in the economic sphere, Mojsov stressed.

"We are proceeding step by step. These are small, but certainly firm steps, which will enable us in the near future to raise the level of economic cooperation and to put it on an equal footing with the high level of political relations."

These possibilities will be the subject of discussions at the meeting of the Mexican-Yugoslav mixed commission, which will examine specific possibilities for strengthening economic cooperation and forms of financing it, Mojsov stressed.

The indications of the agreement-reaching process between the United States and the USSR, Mojsov said, present fresh tasks for the nonaligned countries. The negotiation process will create a climate for the removal of many problems, of which the greatest and most important is the development of the underdeveloped countries.

Development is the greatest concern of the nonaligned countries, especially here in Latin America, where new ideas and solutions are being born. At their most recent summits the nonaligned consistently formulated a number of actions for fundamental change in the unfavorable political and economic relations, which they will continue to work on now that international relations are changing as well, said Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, at the end of his press conference.

Serbian Power Supply 'Set Askew' by Romania

AU301853 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Oct 87

[Text] The temperature is falling, the first frosts have appeared, and the electricity supply in Serbia is increasingly endangered. At the same time, at their Iron Gate power station, the Romanian partners continue to generate power at several times the amount allowed under an international convention. The lowering of the water level in the Iron Gate lake endangers the production not only of the Iron Gate power station, but also of the Kostolac and Nikola Tesla thermoelectric powerplants. Any breakdown anywhere in the associated electricity generation system would have unforeseeable consequences. Marinela Raznjatovic reports from the Iron Gate power station:

Because of established diplomatic courtesy, one speaks timidly about the excessive use of Iron Gate water by the Romanians. However, this of course applies only up to a certain point where our electricity generation system begins to be directly endangered, as is the case at present. Expressed in figures, the Romanians are generating 14.76 million instead of 4 million kilowatt-hours. A direct consequence is that the water level draw from is at the minimum, and power generation at the Kostolac and the Nikola Tesla B1 thermoelectric power stations is jeopardized. The work of industrial and communal plants along the river bank, and of the oil terminal at Pancevo is also jeopardized.

When some 40 days ago, the Romanian partners began to use small quantities of water to which they had no right, diffident comradely messages were sent asking that this bad practice stop. However, this is obviously a dialogue with the deaf, because the Romanians did not reduce, but increased their production in about permitted levels. This directly conflicts with interstate documents, such as the agreements of 1963 and 1977, the conventions on exploitation, the regulations on the work of the joint electricity distribution service, and the decisions of the Yugoslav-Romanian Mixed Commission for Iron Gate.

As we were told at the Iron Gate hydroelectric power station, the excessive use of water has become a bad habit of the Romanians. For the sake of illustration, during the past 4 years, the Romanian power station has lowered the water level on 14 occasions for a total duration of 365 days. It is very indicative that the Romanian partners have been lowering the water level for increasing periods and by increasing amounts from year to year. It seems that the more one protests, the less that is achieved—or rather protests are have an opposite effect. The question therefore arises as to how long we will try, by silent diplomacy, to straighten out an Iron Gate that has been set askew by the Romanians.

Romania's 'Bad Habit'

AU012048 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Nov 87

[Excerpts] After 10 days of excessive use of water from the Iron Gate Lake, today the Romanians are for the first time generating electricity according to the agreement. But one should not be too optimistic, the duty manager of the Iron Gate power plant pointed out, because Romanian industry does not operate on Sundays. It is therefore likely that tomorrow our neighbor will continue with its bad habit of excessive depletion of the lake and lowering of the water level which today measures 57.22 meters at the mouth of the Nera. Marinela Raznjatovic reports on whether this behavior by the Romanians can be stopped:

In the past years results were only achieved through intervention at the highest level and by informing our public about Romania's behavior. On these occasions warnings have been exchanged at the level of the energy ministries. The protocol has not been skipped, either, because this after all concerns subtle relations between the two countries. Bearing this in mind one should, nevertheless, not exclude a possibility that the Romanian are in fact counting on our following our usual tactics and the practice of imposing an embargo after announcing that the Romanians are using water exclusively from the Iron Gate Lake. [passage omitted]

In this story it is important to mention the method of work on the Romanian side of the Iron Gate plant. In contrast to our duty managers, the Romanian duty managers have all the authority. So, when there is plenty of water everything is fine. But during dry periods the managers make their own decisions and are only accountable to the minister of energy. This is why sending appeals, warnings, and notes does not have very significant impact except when they reach the highest government level. This time our conciliatory nature has been shaken a bit. The security of the electro-energetic system and the work of the industry upstream from the Iron Gate have been jeopardized. [passage omitted)

In this situation of excessive use of water, only one thing is certain: The Romanians are short of electric power and are therefore generating more than they are entitled to. This presupposes that they are unable to repay their loan in any way, whether this is through the reduced generation of power, metal sheets, or some other way. [passage omitted]